

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME THIRTY-SEVEN

FIRST QUARTER, 1943

THE BLAKE-LINNELL ACCOUNTS IN THE LIBRARY OF YALE UNIVERSITY

By EDWIN WOLF, 2ND

OUR knowledge of William Blake's financial transactions with John Linnell has come chiefly at second-hand through the medium of Story's *Life of Linnell*,¹ and most of Blake's biographers have relied upon that work for their information of this aspect of Blake's career. In 1938 the Linnell family offered for sale at Christie's² a few more lots of their once great Blake treasure. Among these was one containing miscellaneous receipts and accounts of Blake and Linnell, chiefly relating to the *Illustrations of the Book of Job*. They were acquired by Mr. Otis T. Bradley, who in 1942 gave them to the Library of Yale University, where through the kindness of Professor Tinker they were made available. They are the original sources of Story's information, and provide more accurate information on certain details than has heretofore been printed.

¹ Alfred T. Story. *The Life of John Linnell*, 1892.

² Christie's, December 2, 1938, lot 62.

In 1818, through the intermediacy of the younger Mr. Cumberland, John Linnell,³ a young artist who had already gained some recognition, first met William Blake. The earliest written record of this acquaintanceship is a rather uninformative receipt, among the miscellaneous papers in the Yale collection, reading: "Recievd 12 Augst 1818 of Mr Linnell Two Pounds W Blake." It is impossible to tell for what book, manuscript or drawing this sum represented the payment, but the date represents a starting point in the Blake-Linnell relationship.

The earliest business entered into between them has generally been regarded as the collaboration on an engraved portrait of Mr. Upton,⁴ a Baptist preacher, whose portrait Linnell had painted in oils. Linnell states that he employed Blake to help in order to provide work for that unappreciated genius who was then in desperate financial straits. The interest or patience of Blake's erstwhile patron, Thomas Butts, had waned, and art generally, Linnell notes,⁵ was at a low ebb then. On September 19, 1818, Blake wrote out a bill for his work:

Mr Linnell Dr	
19 Septemb ^r 1818	To Will ^m Blake
For Laying in the Engraving of Mr Uptons portrait	15.15.0
Recivd on this account	7. 0.0
	8.15.0

On November 9, 1818, Blake acknowledged the receipt of five pounds more on account, and on December 31st the balance of three pounds fifteen. Linnell was paid £50 for the finished plate, which was published on June 1, 1819, so that Blake's part in the project probably consisted merely of outlining on the copper-plate the head after Linnell's painting, leaving the detail to be finished by Linnell himself.

The other miscellaneous receipts record odd purchases by Lin-

³ Story, op. cit., I, pp. 158-159.

⁴ A. G. B. Russell. *The Engravings of William Blake*, 1912, n. 136.

⁵ Story, op. cit., I, p. 159.

nell during the rest of Blake's life, and one even from Mrs. Blake after his death. On August 27, 1819, Linnell paid one pound, nineteen and sixpence for a copy of *Songs of Innocence and Experience*. This is Keynes⁶ copy K, given by John Linnell to his son William on April 28, 1863, and then passing into the possession of the latter's daughter, Mrs. T. H. Riches. Linnell got a bargain, for in his letter to Dawson Turner,⁷ written on June 9, 1818, Blake quoted the *Songs* separately at three guineas apiece, while to George Cumberland⁸ a few months before his death in 1827 he optimistically asked ten guineas for the two books. Linnell's next purchase, or at least the next of which we have record, was the second chapter of *Jerusalem*, for which Blake acknowledged the receipt of fourteen shillings on December 30, 1819. Apparently⁹ Blake sent his friend *Jerusalem* chapter by chapter as he finished them, and the completed book, Keynes copy A, with watermarks 1818, 1819, and 1820, was bound up by Linnell and remained in the possession of his family until the 1918 sale at Christie's¹⁰ after which it was acquired by Mr. Frank Rinder. On April 30, 1821, Linnell bought for two guineas a copy of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, beautifully painted with rich gold and colors in Blake's later manner. This book was not quoted either to Turner or Cumberland. The Linnell copy is Keynes copy I, sold at Christie's in 1918, and acquired by Mr. T. H. Riches. The next of the purchases was on March 1, 1822. The receipt reads merely, "Three Pounds on Accot." Again it is impossible to say for certain what the sum had purchased, but I suggest that it was part payment for copies of *America* and *Europe*, Keynes

⁶ Geoffrey L. Keynes. *A Bibliography of William Blake*, 1921.

⁷ Nonesuch Press, *The Writings of William Blake* (ed. Geoffrey Keynes), 1925, III, p. 321. Hereafter referred to as "Blake."

⁸ Blake, ed. cit., III, pp. 392-393.

⁹ Mr. Keynes, in a letter to me of November 11, 1942, said that he believed that the part of *Jerusalem* here mentioned consisted of odd plates specially colored, but I feel that the designation "Chap 2" is quite definitive.

¹⁰ Christie's, March 15, 1918.

copies N and I respectively, on paper watermarked from 1818 to 1820. They had been priced at five guineas apiece to Turner, and a reduction of two guineas for Linnell seems likely. The Linnell copies, bound together, were also sold at Christie's in 1918 and also bought by Mr. Riches.

The other two separate receipts are either not for books bought for Linnell, or not bought from Blake. In one Blake acknowledges on July 29, 1826, the receipt of five guineas "by the hands of Mr Linnell" for a copy of the *Songs of Innocence* from Mrs. Aders.¹¹ This is Keynes copy R, containing both the *Songs of Innocence* and *Experience*, which was later bought from the Aders by Linnell, given by him to his son James in 1863, sold at Christie's in 1918, and bought by Mr. Riches. The other, dated May 18, 1829, reads: "Received of Mr. J Linnell one pound Eleven shillings & sixpence for Homers Illiad & Oddisey for Mr^s Blake Frederick Tatham."¹² In his *Bibliography* Keynes lists as no. 694, among the books owned by Blake, the 1616 edition of Chapman's *Homer*, citing Story's note that Linnell did buy Blake's folio *Homer*. This copy has not been located. However, the receipt does show us, that in spite of his later avowed¹³ enmity towards Tatham, Linnell did acknowledge him to be the legal trustee of Mrs. Blake, and as such bought at least one book through him.

In 1821 Blake borrowed the set of water-colors illustrating the *Book of Job* which he had made for Thomas Butts.¹⁴ Linnell had

¹¹ Mrs. Eliza Aders, daughter of Raphael Smith, the engraver, and wife of Charles Aders, a friend of Lamb, was introduced to Blake by Linnell, and it was at her house that Crabb Robinson met Blake, vide Mona Wilson. *The Life of William Blake*, 1927, p. 271, and Story, op. cit., I, pp. 223-224. Mrs. Aders did some painting and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1839 and 1841.

¹² Frederick Tatham (1805-1878), sculptor, miniature painter and photographer, son of Blake's old friend, C. H. Tatham, was intimate with Blake in his old age and became manager of and heir to Mrs. Blake's effects, vide Wilson, op. cit., pp. 290-291. He wrote a life of Blake published in Russell's edition of *The Letters*, 1906.

¹³ Story, op. cit., I, pp. 241-242.

¹⁴ The Butts set, later in the possession of Lord Crewe, is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, vide Geoffrey Keynes and Laurence Binyon. *Illustrations of The Book of Job by William Blake*, 1935, Fascicle II.

ordered a set for himself and on September 8 and 10, 1821, he had traced the outlines which Blake was to finish. This commission produced not only the fine Linnell set of water-colors,¹⁵ but also led to the production of the engravings made after them, considered by many critics the greatest achievement of Blake's genius. The earliest record of the plan to issue the engravings is found in the agreement, written in Linnell's autograph and signed by him and Blake, for the production of the plates. This agreement in an inaccurate form has been quoted from Story¹⁶ by other writers. It reads:

Memorandum of Agreement between William Blake and John Linnell—
March 25th: 1823 —

W. Blake agrees to Engrave the Set of Plates from his own Designs of Job's Captivity in number twenty, for John Linnell — and John Linnell agrees to pay William Blake five Pounds p^r: Plate or one hundred Pounds for the set part before and the remainder when the Plates are finished, as M^r Blake may require it, besides which J. Linnell agrees to give W. Blake one hundred pounds more out of the Profits of the work as the receipts will admit of it.

signed J. Linnell

Will^m. Blake

N.B. J. L. to find copper Plates.

On the verso of the agreement is the statement of the payment of the first five pounds on account, initialed by Blake.

As stated by Mona Wilson,¹⁷ "By the time the agreement was made Linnell probably knew Blake well enough to realize that £100 in a lump sum would not last long in the hands of so unworldly a man, and that £100 in driblets over a period of years was a far greater charity." This is just what Linnell did, and the account of those payments "in driblets" was faithfully kept by Linnell, and is to be found on loose sheets of paper in the collection now at Yale. The first entry is dated March 20, 1823, but this

¹⁵ The Linnell set was sold at the 1918 sale, and was thereafter partially dispersed. With the exception of one drawing in the collection of Lessing J. Rosenwald and one in that of Templeton Crocker, they are all in the collection of the late Grenville L. Winthrop, and presumably will go to the Fogg Art Museum, vide Keynes and Binyon, *op. cit.*, Fascicle III.

¹⁶ Story, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 169-170.

¹⁷ Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

is possibly an error, and it may be a duplicate of the one found on the back of the agreement. The account shows when and how much Linnell paid Blake, and seems worth while transcribing in full.

1823				
March		To M ^r Blake — 1 st . payment	£	s
20		on account of Job	5	0
		See memorandum of agreement &c	WB	
May	2	Cash D ^o	WB	3 — 0
		D ^o D ^o	WB	10 — 0
July	11	D ^o D ^o	WB	3 — 0
Aug ^t	2	D ^o D ^o	WB	2 — 0
	17	D ^o D ^o	WB	1 — 0
Sep	3	D ^o D ^o	WB	2 — 0
	14	D ^o D ^o	WB	1 — 0
	25	D ^o D ^o	WB	2 — 0
Oct.	12	D ^o D ^o	WB	1 — 0
	20	D ^o D ^o	WB	1 — 0
Nov ^r .	6	D ^o D ^o	WB	1 — 0
			£32	0

1823				
Nov ^r .		Cash Paid to M ^r Blake on account of Job	£	s
		Bro ^t . over	32	0
	13	Cash	WB	1 — 0
	15	D ^o — Balmano's ¹⁸ Sub.	WB	1 — 0
	18	D ^o	WB	6 — 0
Dec ^r .	15	D ^o	WB	5 — 0
	1824	M ^r Leigh's ¹⁹ subs.	WB	2 — 0
Jan	10	Cash	WB	5 — 0 — 0
		Coals	WB	3 — 5 — 9
Feb.	2 ^d .	Cash	WB	5 — 0 — 0
	21	D ^o	WB	10 — 0 — 0
March	29	D ^o	WB	5 —

¹⁸ Robert Balmanno (1780-18??), journalist, emigrated to New York. He had been friendly with Sir Thomas Lawrence, Stothard, Fuseli, and other artists who knew Blake. His collection of the works of Stothard, including many rare prints engraved by Blake, is now in the British Museum.

¹⁹ Samuel Leigh, bookseller, of 145 Strand, London, also mentioned in the subscription book as the agent for Mr. Willowby, and possibly the "Mr. Leigh" who on January 16, 1826, asked Blake to write in William Upcott's autograph album, vide Thomas Wright. *The Life of William Blake*, 1929, II, p. 106. His son, James Mathews Leigh (1808-1860), was a painter.

The Blake-Linnell Accounts

7

May	4	D ^o	M ^r . Muss's ²⁰ sub	WB	1 -
	6	D ^o		WB	10 -
June	11	D ^o		WB	5 -
			1 Chaldron of Coals	WB	1 - 17 -
July	6		Cash by D ^r Thornton's ²¹ order	WB	5 - 5 -
					98 - 7 - 9
					£ s
Jan ^y	1825		Bro ^t over		98 - 7 - 9
	28 th .	Cash on acct of Job		WB	5 -
March	12	D ^o	D ^o	WB	5 -
April	8	D ^o	D ^o	WB	3 - 10
May	3 ^d	D ^o	D ^o	WB	5 -
June	6	D ^o	D ^o	WB	2 -
			By Coals sent in May	WB	2 - 13 - 6
Aug ^t	21	Cash		WB	3 -
Sep	3 ^d	D ^o		WB	1 -
	4	D ^o		WB	10 -
Oct.	1 st	D ^o		WB	1 -
	30	D ^o			5 -
		D ^o	by M ^r Flaxman's ²² Sub		3 - 3
		D ^o	M ^r Calverts ²³ D ^o		1 -
			by Sir Tho ^s . Lawrence ²⁴ D ^o		5 - 5
					150 - 19 - 3

for one copy — the extra 5 gs. which Sir T. L. gave is not reckoned against M^r Blake. Sir T. L. perhaps intended it for the copy presented to him for the Library of the Royal Academy.

²⁰ Charles Muss (1779-1824), enamel and glass painter, and copyist of works of old masters.

²¹ Dr. Robert John Thornton (1768-1837), physician and botanical writer, friend of Blake and editor of *The Pastorals of Virgil*, 1821, illustrated with woodcuts by him. He was the family doctor of the Linnell family, vide Story, op. cit., I, pp. 147-148 and 150-154.

²² John Flaxman (1755-1826), R. A., sculptor, life-long friend of Blake, who engraved some of his designs.

²³ Edward Calvert (1799-1883), artist, one of a group of young painters who called themselves "The Ancients," and who became friendly with and received guidance from Blake towards the end of his life, vide Laurence Binyon. *The Followers of William Blake*, 1925.

²⁴ Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830), president of the Royal Academy, who used Linnell's help in copying a portrait in 1822 and was introduced by him to Blake, several of whose drawings he purchased, vide Story, op. cit., I, pp. 154-155.

Several interesting conjectures can be made from these records. First, the state of Blake's health, never very good in these last years, can be judged by the condition of his initialing. Up to the fall of 1823 his writing is firm, but during September and October it appears very weak and shaky. It strengthens again in the winter of 1823-24, but in June and July, 1824, it is shockingly bad. In a letter, undated but ascribed to the year 1824 by Keynes,²⁵ Blake wrote to Linnell, "A return of the old shivering fit came on this Morning as soon as I awaked & I am now in Bed, Better & as I think almost well." If this date is correct this would refer to the inception or end of a period of weakness which began apparently in May, 1824, and probably lasted for most of the year. However, as will be noted later, it is more probable that the letter was written in the next year. There are no payments recorded between July 6, 1824, and January 28, 1825, nor are there any letters extant in this period. It seems most likely that Blake was quite ill then; some such explanation is necessary to account for the considerable length of time it took him to finish the plates for *Job*, in view of his energy and past record of turning out artistic work in quantity as well as quality. During 1825 Blake, as far as can be judged by these initialings, was in better health until April, after which he got progressively worse until the end of October when the accounts end. By November, 1825, Blake's part of the contract seems to have been filled. On November 10th he wrote to Linnell,²⁶ "I have, I believe, done nearly all that we agreed on &c. . . . I cannot get Well & am now in Bed, but seem as if I should be better to-morrow; rest does me good."

From March, 1823, to October, 1825, Linnell paid out £150. 19.3 on account of the *Book of Job*. It was not until the next year that he secured a release of copyright for moneys already received. Among the separate slips in the collection is the following receipt in Blake's autograph:

²⁵ Blake, ed. cit., III, p. 367.

²⁶ Ibid., III, p. 368.

London July 14: 1826

Recievd of Mr John Linnell, the Sum of One Hundred & fifty Pounds for the Copyright & Plates (Twenty-two in number) of the Book of Job. Publishd March 1825 by Me.

William Blake Author of the Work

Witness: Edw^d Jno Chance

Nº 3 Fountain Court Strand

It is curious that Blake should have decided that March, 1825, and so it appears on the plates, was the publication date, for there is no doubt that, although proofs may have been taken as early as March, 1825, the plates were not completely finished until a year later. We must presume that the earlier date represents the completion of the last plate in its preliminary state.

Of great interest, and unlike much of the information about *Job*, not even hinted at by any writers on the subject, is Linnell's account of the expenses of the work. We find a record of the purchase of only twenty copper-plates, whereas twenty-two were used. In the original agreement only twenty plates were called for, and we shall probably never know whether Blake intended to omit one or two of his scenes, or Linnell made a mistake in the original agreement. In any event at some stage it was decided to make twenty-one designs, as in the water-colors, plus a title-page, and two more plates were needed. Keynes,²⁷ describing the copper-plates themselves, notes that two were apparently used before, and these may have been begged from friends by either Blake or Linnell; from the evidence of the plates themselves and the expense account they were not bought by Linnell like the others. We further find the first record of proofs having been made in 1825, which means that the letter, tentatively dated 1824 by Keynes,²⁸ must be placed in 1825, and the reference to the

²⁷ Keynes and Binyon, op. cit., I, p. 52. Keynes accounts for only twenty-one of the twenty-two copper-plates.

²⁸ Blake, ed. cit., III, p. 367. "If I can possibly, I will be at Mr. Laker's tomorrow Morning. . . . I send the Pilgrims under your Care with the Two First Plates of Job." These, I take it, were sent for printing, and represent the plates in proof state. Mr. Keynes now believes that the plate-printer's name should read "Lahee" which it

shivering fit must be the recurrence of the illness which took place about April, 1825. The "Mr. Lahee" mentioned in that letter, not heretofore identified, is shown to be a printer of engravings. We note further that complete sets of proofs were available for binding in November, 1825, but that the order for commercial printing was not given until March, 1826. Of even greater importance is the information of the number of copies printed: in March, 1826, 150 sets of proofs on india paper; also in March 65 sets on French paper, and 100 sets on drawing paper. In all therefore 315 copies were printed at the time of publication. The pre-publication proofs represent the experimental states of the plates, examples of most of which were at one time in the possession of the Linnell family. These are classified by Keynes²⁹ in categories I to III. The india paper proofs, Keynes IV and V, were those printed early in March. They are found mounted on two different kinds of paper, one watermarked *J. Whatman Turkey Mill 1825*, and the other a smaller sized sheet unwatermarked. Keynes's last category consists of the ordinary issue of the "print" state on two kinds of paper. The 65 sets "on French paper" are apparently those on unwatermarked sheets; the 100 sets "on drawing paper" are those on Whatman paper. We further note that Lahee printed all 315 sets, although the very first proofs were made by Dixons. The account, which appears on the next to the last leaf of the subscription book, reads as follows:

Account of Expenses		1825	2	D°	D°	- 6
of the Book of Job — by M ^r Blake				proofs		1 -
1823	6 Copper Plates	£	s		D° at Dixons & paper	1 -
	for Job		1 -		D° at Lahee &c	- 10
	6 D° D°		1.2	Sep	Proofs	2 -
	6 D° D°		1.3.7	Oct	D°	2 -
				Nov	Binding 3 sets	- 7 6
[Total entered incorrectly as:]						£9.19.1

clearly is in the Linnell MS. Although the name seems strange I find a record of "Lahee and Mabin" having exhibited architectural studies at the Royal Academy in 1845, vide Graves. *A Dictionary of Artists*, 1901, p. 163.

²⁹ Keynes and Binyon, op. cit., I, pp. 53-54.

	B ^t over	9.19.1*	to Mr Leighton for	
March	£	s	Bind ^s & paper &c	13.17.
1826	Paid to Mr Lahee for		May to Lahee	
	150 sets of Proofs on		1826 for 65 sets of Job on	
	India paper	56. 5	March french paper	16. 3
	to Freeman the work-		to D ^o for 50 sets on	
	man	1 —	Drawing paper	10.10.
	to Mr White for Boarding	2. 4.6	to D ^o for D ^o	10.10.
	1 ream of paper for D ^o	1. 6.		£111.15.6

The known expenses, then, of the *Book of Job*—and these are only the minimum sums—are £137.11.3 (£150.19.3 less £13.8.0 being the advance subscriptions received) paid to Blake and, correcting Linnell's errors in addition, £122.4.7 for the materials and printing. Linnell's investment in the *Book of Job* amounted to close to two hundred and fifty pounds, a not inconsequential sum for him, but one he regarded as a beneficence rather than a potentially profitable business venture.

According to the subscription book which Linnell kept up for a little more than ten years he got back at least £167.17.6 of this sum. Beyond that no detailed accounts were kept, but the investment proved extremely profitable to his heirs as the results of the Linnell sale³⁰ in 1918 testify. The subscription book, like the other Linnell accounts, has a rather haphazard appearance, and while the facts which it contains are most interesting, it should be remembered that they are probably not complete. The list was kept in a note-book with marbled paper wrappers, inscribed on the outside, "Subscribers &c to the Book of Job," and on the first page, "Subscribers to & Purchasers of the Book of Illustrations of the History of Job Designed & Engraved By William Blake. Begun 1823 — & Publish [*sic*] March 1826 by the Author & J. Linnell." It should be noted that Linnell set the publication date in 1826 and not in 1825. Beginning at the front are the names of the subscribers and at the end going forward are notes of copies sent on approval, exchanged, chiefly for other books, and given away.

* This figure was not included in Linnell's total, £111.15.6.

³⁰ The 65 Blake items in this sale realized £22,360.5.6.

Various statements have been made by various people as to the original selling price of the set. Ellis,³¹ on the authority of John Linnell, jun., said it was ten guineas for the proofs and five for the regular prints. Some copies in the original boards have the prices marked six and three guineas respectively. Keynes³² quotes Blake as stating that three guineas was the price of a plain copy, and Linnell in 1830 as mentioning three guineas as the regular price, and £2.12.6 for the trade. The truth is most plain copies were sold at the trade price. Most of the subscribers were artists or booksellers, but why Flaxman had to pay the full price for his copy or why Johns, who was sold a proof copy, was charged three pounds for his we do not know. On the other hand the proofs were sold mostly at five guineas to artists and others alike, with the exceptions of Thomas Butts who got his set for three guineas "because he lent the Drawing to copy," Anthony Stewart who paid only £4.14.6, Mr. Yonge and the Rev. Daniel who paid five pounds, the King who paid ten guineas gratuitously, and the Earl of Egremont who was charged six guineas probably because he could afford it. A full transcription of the entries should prove interesting.

1823			Plain
Oct ^r	S	Ed. Hodges Bailey ³³ Esq RA	
		sub. for one Copy plain	2 12 6
	S	—— Balmano Esq. D ^o	2 12 6
	S	Leigh, Bookseller for	
		Mr Willowby ³⁴	2 12 6
	S	J Flaxman Esq R.A.	
		one copy plain	3 3 —
	S	Mr Riviere ³⁵ D ^o	2 12 6

³¹ Edwin John Ellis. *The Real Blake*, 1907, p. 409.

³² Keynes and Binyon, op. cit., I, p. 15.

³³ Edward Hodges Baily (1788-1867), R. A., sculptor, the mover of the resolution in the Royal Academy in 1822 to grant Blake £25, vide Wilson, op. cit., p. 365.

³⁴ I cannot definitely identify Willowby, but Richard Willoughby (1800-1879) was a stationer and printer at 109 Goswell Street, London.

³⁵ Daniel Valentine Rivière (1780-1854), drawing-master, or his son, William Rivière (1806-1876), historical painter, brother of the celebrated bookbinder, Robert

S	Mr Harrison, ³⁶ Tower St.	2 12 6
S	Mr Butts, Fitzroy Sqr.	
	1 Copy of Proofs — for	3 3 —
	because he lent the	
	Drawing to copy —	
S	H. Robinson Esq ^r ³⁷ of the	
	Temple	
	3 copies	9 9 —
		28.17.6.
P	Mr Prosser ³⁸ Charing X	Plain
	one copy plain	3 3 —
S	C. H. Tatham Esq ^r ³⁹	
	one copy plain	2 12 6
S	Dr. H. Ley ⁴⁰ — 1 copy plain	
	Half Moon St Piccadilly	2 12 6
P	Mr Behnes, ⁴¹ Dean St Soho	
	1 copy plain	2 12 6
S	Mr Waters ⁴² D ^o	2 12 6

Rivière, and mentioned by Linnell in a letter to Rossetti with reference to some information given Rossetti about Blake by Rivière, vide Story, op. cit., II, pp. 125-126.

³⁶ William Harrison (d. 1861), wine-merchant and brewer, whose name appeared in the imprint of the 1821 edition of Thornton's *Virgil* and from whom Linnell purchased the original wood blocks in 1825. He was the husband of Mary Harrison, flower painter, and father of William Frederick and George Henry, both water-colorists.

³⁷ Henry Crabb Robinson (1775-1867), lawyer and diarist, who first met Blake at Aders' and saw him several times thereafter, which meetings are recorded in his *Diary*. There on January 16, 1826, Robinson wrote, "I had procured him two subscriptions for his Job from Geo. Proctor and Bas. Montague. I paid £1 on each;" and in his letter of March 31, 1826, to Linnell Blake wrote, "Mr. Robinson certainly did Subscribe for Prints only & not for Proofs, for I remember that he offer'd to pay me Three Guineas for each of the Copies," vide Arthur Symons, *William Blake*, 1907, pp. 253 et seq., & Blake (Centenary ed.), New York, 1932, p. 1132.

³⁸ I can find no Prosser definitely connected with Blake or Linnell, but this is possibly G. F. Prosser, topographer, who wrote a history of St. Giles's Church, Camberwell, 1827, and who exhibited architectural studies at the Royal Academy in 1826-1828.

³⁹ Charles Heathcote Tatham (1772-1842), architect, old friend of both Blake and Linnell.

⁴⁰ Dr. Hugh Ley (1790-1837), physician.

⁴¹ This could be either Henry Behnes (1796-1837), sculptor, who exhibited at the Royal Academy under the pseudonym of Burlowe, or his brother, William Behnes (d. 1864), also a sculptor.

⁴² The only Waters whom I can find who might have had some connection with

S	Parker ⁴³ — Bookseller Oxford	
	1 copy plain	2 12 6
S	M ^r Calvert Brixton	
	1 copy plain	2 12 6
P	Clunould (?), Bookseller	
	1 copy plain Spring Gardens	2 12 6
		21 10 6

1826

Proofs

S	Sir Henry Torrens ⁴⁴	proofs	5 5 —
S	Rev ^d Edw ^d . Bury ⁴⁵	D ^o	5 5 —
S	Anthony Stewart Esq ⁴⁶		4 14 6
S	Cha ^s . Aders Esq	D ^o	5 5 —
S	T. G. Wainwright Esq ⁴⁷	D ^o	5 5 —
S	James Vine Esq ⁴⁸		5 5 —
S	Sir Tho ^s . Lawrence		5 5 —
	one copy of Proofs for himself		
	one copy given to the Royal Academy — but Sir T. L. sent		
	10 Gs. to M ^r Blake — 5 gs of which was		
	given to M ^r B. although S. T. L. might have		
	intended it for the copy presented to him		
	for the Royal Academy		3 6 4 6

Blake or Linnell is a J. T. Waters mentioned by George Cumberland in his letters, but about whom I have no other information.

⁴³ Joseph Parker, publisher and bookseller of Oxford, who was succeeded in 1832 by his nephew, John Henry Parker.

⁴⁴ Sir Henry Torrens (1779-1828), major-general, patron of Linnell who painted "Lady Torrens and Family" in 1819, and later other portraits of members of the family. Lady Torrens was one of his most devoted friends, vide Story, op. cit., I, pp. 115-117.

⁴⁵ Rev. Edward John Bury (d. 1832), second husband of Lady Charlotte Bury, the novelist, in whose diary is an account of a dinner at which Blake was present.

⁴⁶ Anthony Stewart (1773-1846), miniature painter.

⁴⁷ Thomas Griffiths Wainwright (1794-1852), art critic and poisoner, who made a satirical reference to Blake's *Jerusalem* in the *London Magazine*, September, 1820, and who bought a copy of *Songs of Innocence and Experience*, vide Wright, op. cit., II, p. 75.

⁴⁸ I am unable definitely to identify James Vine, but a man of that name was at this time living at Puckaster, Niton, Isle of Wight, and a "Mr. Vines" commissioned two pictures, "A View near Shanklin" and "Windsor Forest," from Linnell in 1817, vide Story, op. cit., I, p. 113. On the back of Blake's receipt of December 30, 1819, Linnell wrote out a bill to James Vine for both quarto and proof copies of Nos. 12 and 13 of the *Pompeian*, amounting to £4.19.0.

The King — 1 copy		Proofs
of Proofs		
Sent by the order of		
Sir W ^m . Knighton ⁴⁹		
& Dr. Gooch ⁵⁰ —		
& for which 10 G ^s .		
was ordered to be		
paid — & was p ^d		
by Mess Budd & Calkin		
Pall Mall.—		
given to M ^r Blake		10 10 —
Josiah Taylor Esq. ⁵¹ 1 copy of		
Proofs sent to the House of Correction		
by F. Tatham		5 5 —
Taylor being s ^d H. of C ⁿ . for swindling		
M ^r Young ⁵² of Devonshire		
by M ^r Johns ⁵³ 1 copy		5 —
		20 15
S	M ^r Johns of Devonshire	Plain
	1 copy	3 —
P	M ^r Flower ⁵⁴ of Islington	
	1 copy	3 3 —
S	M ^r Geo Young, ⁵⁵ surgeon	
	brother of Young the actor	
	1 copy	3 3

⁴⁹ Sir William Knighton (1776-1836), physician and keeper of the privy purse to George IV, whose daughters were painted by Linnell in 1827 and 1830, vide Story, op. cit., II, pp. 248-249.

⁵⁰ Dr. Robert Gooch (1784-1830), physician and librarian to George IV, whose portrait was painted by Linnell for Sir William Knighton in 1827, vide Story, op. cit., I, p. 139, and II, p. 248.

⁵¹ There was a Josiah Taylor (1761-1834), publisher of Hatton Garden, but I have no evidence that the publisher was ever imprisoned, and so probably the subscriber was another Josiah whom I cannot identify.

⁵² James Yonge (1794-1870), Devonshire physician, who is known to have owned some paintings by Johns.

⁵³ Ambrose Bowden Johns (1776-1858), Devonshire painter, under whom at one time Calvert worked.

⁵⁴ A John Flower (1795-1861) was an architectural painter who studied under Peter de Wint at London, but this identification is very uncertain.

⁵⁵ George Young, surgeon, friend of Crabb Robinson, and brother of Charles Mayne Young (1777-1856), the comedian, whose mother Linnell painted in 1831, vide Story, op. cit., II, p. 249. He is possibly the Dr. Young mentioned by Blake in his letter of July 16, 1826, to Linnell: "I have been ever since taking Dr. Young's

		M ^r Rev ^d Jebb ⁵⁶	3	3
	P	M ^r Bird ⁵⁷	2	12 6
Aug ^t		H. W. Lizars ⁵⁸ for a friend		
1832		Edinburgh	2	12 6
			17	14
		H Meredith Esq		Proofs
		Harley Place		
		1 copy of Proofs	5	5 -
		Rev ^d T Daniel ⁵⁹ of Norwich		
		1 copy sent to Oxford	5	-
		Westmacott R.A. ⁶⁰		
		1 c. Proof	5	5
		Chantry R.A. ⁶¹		
		1 c. Proof	5	5
		M ^r . S. Woodburn ⁶²		
		one copy Proof	5	5
		Sir Geo. Pocock B ^t . ⁶³		
		1 c. proof	5	5
			31	5

addition to Mr. Fincham's practice with me . . . in a species of delirium," vide Blake, ed. cit., 1925, III, p. 373.

⁵⁶ John Jebb (1775-1833), bishop of Limërick, who bought a copy of the *Songs of Innocence and Experience*, and the prints, *Job* and *Ezekiel* from Mrs. Blake after her husband's death, vide Story, op. cit., I, p. 243.

⁵⁷ Bird, an artist, was present at Mrs. Blake's funeral on October 23, 1831, and was given a copy of *The Gates of Paradise* by Frederick Tatham as a memorial of the occasion, vide Wilson, op. cit., p. 303. This was possibly Isaac F. Bird (fl. 1826-1861), of Exeter, a portrait painter.

⁵⁸ William Home Lizars (1788-1859), painter and engraver, and member of an Edinburgh family which was most friendly with Linnell.

⁵⁹ Rev. E. T. Daniel, clergyman and patron of artists, who was especially kind to Linnell who had once asked his help in bringing some of Blake's works to the notice of an Oxford publisher, vide Story, op. cit., I, pp. 267-271.

⁶⁰ Sir Richard Westmacott (1775-1856), R. A., sculptor.

⁶¹ Sir Francis Legatt Chantrey (1781-1841), R. A., sculptor, mentioned in Blake's letter of February 1, 1826, to Linnell: "I wish to have a copy of 'Job' to show to Mr. Chantrey," vide Blake, ed. cit., III, p. 368. Chantrey bought a copy of *Songs of Innocence and Experience*, and was offered other works of Blake by Linnell.

⁶² Samuel Woodburn (1786-1853), art dealer and collector of prints and drawings, friendly with Linnell who took Blake to his house at Hendon on August 26, 1820, vide Story, op. cit., I, pp. 165, 173, and 197-198.

⁶³ Sir George Pocock (1765-1840), judge-advocate of the Court of Admiralty in Jamaica, whose portrait in miniature Linnell painted in 1827-1828, vide Story, op. cit., II, p. 255.

1830	W. S. Davidson Esq		
	1 c. proof	5	5
	the Earl of Egremont ⁶⁴	6	6
		11	11
		28	17 6
		21	10 6
	36.4.6	56	4 6
		20	15
		17	14
		31	5
		187	17 6
		167	17 6

1 Copy Proof unsettled for to Mr Woodburn

1829

Paid for by Spanish b^d. set
of Mantuanus' & McAngelo's

Copies of the

Book of Job exchanged

1 copy proofs to Rodwell & Martin⁶⁵ Booksellers Bond St
which they sold to Mr Philips⁶⁶ R.A.
the above to pay for a copy of Pompei
had before

1 copy to Mr Bohn⁶⁷ Bookseller
Henrietta Street
Covent Garden

⁶⁴ George O'Brien Wyndham, Earl of Egremont (1751-1837), patron of artists, for whom Blake had painted "The Last Judgment" and who bought "The Characters of Spenser's Faerie Queen" after Blake's death. *Job* was offered to him in a letter from Linnell: "Mr. J. Linnell begs leave to enclose to the Earl of Egremont a work by the late Mr. Blake for his lordship's inspection, and will send again to know if his lordship wishes to possess it. Mr. Linnell was intimately acquainted with the author, and was his employer in the above work when he had nothing else to do. Mr. Linnell's means were not adequate to pay Mr. Blake according to his merit, or such a work should have placed him in moderate independence. The work, however, has not yet paid its expenses, although highly esteemed and in the collections of the best judges," vide Story, op. cit., I, pp. 244-245.

⁶⁵ Rodwell & Martin, of Bond Street, booksellers; John Martin (1791-1855), bibliographer, retired from the firm in 1826.

⁶⁶ Thomas Phillips (1770-1845), R. A., portrait painter, whose portrait of Blake was engraved for the Cromek edition of Blair's *Grave*, 1808, which contained Blake's celebrated designs.

⁶⁷ George Henry Bohn (1796-1884), bookseller and publisher.

- 1 D^o to D^o
- 1 Copy Plain to
Mr Palmer⁶⁸ Bookseller
Broad St. St Giles
- 1 Copy Plain to
Mr Evans⁶⁹ Printseller
Queen St. Lincoln Inn field
- 1 Copy to J. Bull in exchange
for work
- 1827 1 set of Proofs to
Colanaghi & Co⁷⁰
- 1 copy Plain to D^o
- 1 copy India Proofs
to D^o
- 1829 1 set of India Proofs
to Mr Colanaghi
in exchange
- 1 copy Proofs to Mr Brown⁷¹ returned
of Carmarthen Street
- 1 copy Proofs to Mr James Brown⁷²
of Thornhaugh Street
- June 1832 1 copy of India proofs
to R. Cooke Esq⁷³ to look at
- 2 Abbey R^d St Johns W^d
- March 1 copy Plain to J^s Linnell⁷⁴ [*deleted*]

⁶⁸ Thomas Palmer (1775-1848), bookseller, Linnell's father-in-law, and the father of Samuel Palmer, artist and disciple of Blake. Samuel Palmer married Linnell's daughter, vide Story, op. cit., I, pp. 71-73 and 102-110.

⁶⁹ Edward Evans (1789-1835), printseller.

⁷⁰ Paul Colnaghi (1755-1833), print dealer, who with his son, Dominic Paul (1790-1879), managed Colnaghi & Co., publishers of several of Linnell's engravings, and to whom Blake sold his collection of prints in 1821, vide Wilson, op. cit., p. 265, and Story, op. cit., II, pp. 242-243.

⁷¹ Of course it is impossible to identify a "Brown" with any degree of certainty, but it is possible that this was Mather Brown (ca. 1760-1831), an American who came to England to study under Benjamin West, painted the portraits of many English celebrities, and exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1782 until his death.

⁷² James Brown, possibly the purchaser of Linnell's painting, "The Young Gleaner," in 1829, vide Story, op. cit., II, p. 264.

⁷³ Probably Richard Cook (1784-1857), R. A., historical painter.

⁷⁴ James Linnell (1760-1836), carver, gilder, printseller and picture dealer, John Linnell's father.

- 1830 Feb 1 copy India proof
to James Linnell for sale [*deleted*]
or return
- 1834 Oct one plain Copy to M^r Leonard⁷⁵ [*deleted*]
by M^r Varley⁷⁶ to show
- Oct^r 1834 1 Copy to shew
to M^r Denham⁷⁷
Princess Sophia⁷⁸
- 1831 1 Copy [*erased but legible*: of India proofs to] D^r King⁷⁹
[i.e. of plain set to D^o for] sale or return Brighton
Returned
1 copy plain to Miss ——
friend of M^{rs} Austin⁸⁰
1 copy plain to D^r —— German
friend of M^{rs} Austin
- Sept. 19th 1832
1 small paper to M^r Richmond⁸¹ [*deleted*]
to be paid for in 6 Months
1 Copy plain to
M^r Allen⁸² given
1 Copy plain to M^r Lizars⁸³ Edinb
present June 1831

⁷⁵ A W. Leonard exhibited a landscape at the Royal Academy in 1821.

⁷⁶ John Varley (1778-1842), landscape painter, teacher of Linnell, and friend of Blake who drew the visionary heads for him; or his brother, Cornelius Varley (1781-1873), water-color painter and inventor.

⁷⁷ This is possibly J. C. Denham who exhibited landscapes at the Royal Academy from 1796 to 1858, or it might be a misspelling of Thomas Denman (fl. 1815-1837), sculptor, Flaxman's brother-in-law, who attended Mrs. Blake's funeral with Tatham, vide Wilson, op. cit., p. 303.

⁷⁸ Princess Sophia Matilda (1777-1848), sister of George IV, of whom Linnell painted two miniatures, in 1821-1822, and who sent Mrs. Blake a gift of £100 which she returned, vide Wilson, op. cit., p. 302, and Story, op. cit., I, p. 124.

⁷⁹ Dr. William King (1786-1865), Brighton physician and advocate of the co-operative system, an acquaintance of Crabb Robinson.

⁸⁰ Sarah Austin (1793-1867), translator, of whom Linnell painted two portraits, and with whom he became very friendly, vide Story, op. cit., I, pp. 294-296, and II, pp. 127-134.

⁸¹ George Richmond (1809-1896), painter, one of "The Ancients" who were influenced by Blake, vide Binyon, op. cit.

⁸² J. W. Allen (1803-1852), landscape painter.

⁸³ David Lizars, engraver and publisher, who met Linnell on his wedding trip in Edinburgh, and remained friendly with him, vide Story, op. cit., I, pp. 108-112.

The publication did not prove a popular success; Smith⁸⁴ in *Nollekens and his Times*, speaking of *Job*, applied salve when he stated, "This was the last work he completed upon the merits of which he received the highest congratulations from the following Royal Academicians: Sir Thomas Lawrence, Mr. Baily, Mr. Philips, Mr. Chantrey, Mr. James Ward, Mr. Arnould, Mr. Collins, Mr. Westmacott, and many other artists of eminence." The list of subscribers was naturally heavily weighted with artists and others who had known Blake or were friends of Linnell. The public was not interested; less than a dozen copies were sold through book or print sellers. A recapitulation shows that between October, 1823, and October, 1834, the last date to appear in the book, Linnell sold 24 plain copies and 20 proof copies. Besides he exchanged with booksellers and others 6 plain copies and 9 proof copies. Two undescribed copies were given or sold to Mr. Denham and Princess Sophia, and 4 plain copies were given away. Therefore Linnell disposed of 65 of the 315 copies according to his records. At the Linnell sale in 1918 were sold the remnants of the stock, consisting of 18 proof copies and 50 plain ones, which means that over half the edition was distributed between 1834 and 1918.

Of course, Linnell's list probably does not represent a complete record of all copies which he sold, exchanged or gave away. No mention is made of George Cumberland,⁸⁵ but on the back of a letter from Blake, dated April 12, 1827, concerning the mes-

⁸⁴ Quoted from Symons, op. cit., pp. 374-375. Linnell took great satisfaction in the quality of his subscribers, and remarked on it in the letter to the Earl of Egremont, and also to Bernard Barton: "Though we were both disappointed in our expectations as to the extent of the sale, yet the few buyers of the work being among the most distinguished for taste and learning, we were sufficiently encouraged to commence another work," Russell, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

⁸⁵ George Cumberland (1754-1847), art connoisseur, long-time friend of Blake who engraved some plates for a book Cumberland published in 1796, and for whom he made a visiting card, one of his last engraved works. Cumberland's son, George, introduced Blake to Linnell.

sage card which Blake had made for him, he wrote,⁸⁶ "The widow charged me £3.3s for it, and £3.3s for the *Job*." Probably other oversights occurred, but the subscription book is the most valuable record we have of the contemporary purchasers of Blake's work.

There remains one miscellaneous sheet, apparently incomplete, for we find a reference to the continuation of the *Dante*⁸⁷ account on "page 5" which is not present. It contains payments made to Blake between August 18, 1824, and November 19, 1825, in addition to those for *Job*.

Aug ^t . 18 th 1824.			£
Cash on account of			
the Portrait of Mr. Lowry ⁸⁸	WB	5	—
Novembr 10 th . D ^o D ^o	WB	5	—
Dec ^r 25. D ^o D ^o	WB	5	—
Jany 28 D ^o D ^o	WB	5	—
1825			
for sketches of			
subjects from			
Dante		5	—
carried to page 5			
Oct ^r . 10 th . on acc ^t . of Drawings			
of Paradise regained ⁸⁹	WB	5	—
Nov ^r 19 th . D ^o D ^o		5	—

⁸⁶ Russell, op. cit., p. 119.

⁸⁷ After the completion of *Job*, Linnell commissioned Blake to draw and engrave a set of illustrations for Dante. Blake completed ninety-eight drawings, some only sketches, others quite finished, but he lived to engrave only seven of them. These drawings were sold at the Linnell sale in 1918 and bought for various National Galleries. They were published with an account of their production for the National Art-Collections Fund in 1922.

⁸⁸ Wilson Lowry (1762-1824), engraver, with whom Blake had worked on an illustration for Rees's *Cyclopaedia*, 1819. This portrait, "Drawn from Life by J. Linnell, & W. Blake," was published on January 1, 1825, by Hurst, Robinson & Co., Cheapside, vide Russell, op. cit., no. 109.

⁸⁹ Linnell first tried to sell these twelve drawings for *Paradise Regained* to Francis Chantrey for £20, and when he was unsuccessful bought them himself. They were sold at the Linnell sale in 1918 to the Carfax Galleries for Mr. Riches and have been reproduced in full in Darrell Figgis. *The Paintings of William Blake*, 1925, pl. 23-34.

In these Yale papers then are the financial records of Linnell's patronage of Blake, records which provide us with the original sources of statements made, sometimes correctly, sometimes incompletely, and further provide us with some material not heretofore known.

Dr. Geoffrey Keynes of London has written a short article on the Blake-Linnell accounts, simultaneously with Mr. Wolf, which is printed in *The Times Literary Supplement*, London, January 9, 1943, p. 24.—Editor.

THOMAS ANBUREY'S "TRAVELS THROUGH AMERICA": A NOTE ON EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PLAGIARISM

By WHITFIELD J. BELL, JR.

ENGLAND and indeed all Europe, in the last half of the eighteenth century, were hungry for information concerning America. But literate European travelers in the New World were few; literary travelers were fewer still; and their productions alone could not satisfy the demand for books. That demand was met therefore by a typical eighteenth-century device of making new books from old. Half a dozen books and pamphlets, a pair of scissors, and a paste-pot in the hands of a Grub Street hack sufficed to make another book about America. But in some cases men who had in fact visited America extended the sphere of their observations by borrowing from their predecessors. Of the books prepared in this manner, combinations of personal and borrowed observation and reflection, one of the best known is Lieutenant Thomas Anburey's *Travels through the Interior Parts of America. In a Series of Letters. By an Officer*, printed for William Lane at London in 1789.

A second English edition, three French editions, and a German edition all within four years testify to the early popularity of the work.¹ Then the book passed to the scholars (and more re-

¹ *Travels through the Interior Parts of America; in a Series of Letters. By an Officer. A new Edition*, 2v., London, Lane, 1791; *Voyages dans les parties intérieures de l'Amérique, pendant le cours de la dernière guerre, par un officier de l'armée royale*, 2v., Paris, Briand, 1790; *Voyages dans les parties intérieures de l'Amérique*

cently to the historical novelists²) and for many years was reckoned a valuable source of information on the Burgoyne campaign, in which the author served, and on America, through which he traveled. In the middle of the last century Henry T. Tuckerman, agreeably surprised to find "with occasional asperity, much candid intelligence and interesting local information," spoke well of Anburey's *Travels*;³ and this judgment was accepted by both Justin Winsor and J. N. Larned;⁴ while Edward Channing, in one of his bibliographical notes, declared that of the many journals, orderly books, and memoirs of the Saratoga Campaign which had been printed, those of Hadden, Digby, and Anburey "are the best."⁵ At the same time, however, that Channing was expressing this opinion, Sir George Otto Trevelyan, judging from internal evidence, thought it probable that the letters dated during the Saratoga Campaign were in fact written

pendant le cours de la dernière guerre, par un officier de l'armée royale. Traduit de l'Anglois, par M. Lebas, 2v., Paris, Briand, 1792; Journal d'un Voyage fait dans l'Intérieur de l'Amérique septentrionale. Ouvrage dans lequel on donne des détails précieux sur l'insurrection des Anglo-Américains, et sur la chute désastreuse de leur papier-monnoie. Traduit de l'Anglois et enrichi de notes par M. Noël, 2v., Paris, La Villette, 1793; Thomas Anburey, Reisen im Inneren von Nordamerika, welche eine Schilderung der Sitten und Eigenthümlichkeiten des Landes Kanada, Neu-England und Virginien, imgleichen die Geschichte des Feldzuges, der Uebergabe und der ferneren Schicksale der Armee unter dem General Bourgoyne enthalten. Aus dem englischen übersetzt von Georg Forster, Berlin, Vossische Buchhandlung, 1792. A modern edition with a foreword by Major General William Harding Carter, U.S.A., was published at Boston and New York in 1923.

² Anburey appears in Kenneth Roberts's *Oliver Wiswell*, New York, 1940, and is mentioned in Robert Graves's *Sergeant Lamb's America*, New York, 1940, Bruce Lancaster's *Guns of Burgoyne*, New York, 1939, and Elizabeth Page's *The Tree of Liberty*, New York, 1939.

³ *America and her Commentators*, New York, 1864, pp. 186-188. Some of the very passages Anburey plagiarized Tuckerman singled out for special mention.

⁴ Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 8v., Boston, 1884-1889, VIII, p. 490; Larned, ed. *The Literature of American History*, Boston, 1902, nos. 1221A, 3692.

⁵ *A History of the United States*, 6v., New York, 1905-1925, III, p. 274. Sydney George Fisher cited Anburey frequently in his *Struggle for American Independence*, 2v., Philadelphia, 1908; while Henry Belcher in his *First American Civil War*, 2v., London, 1911, and Claude H. Van Tyne in his *War of American Independence*, Boston, 1929, both quoted Anburey for details and sidelights which probably came within that officer's personal experience.

at a subsequent date, though he pronounced the narrative "in a high degree authentic."⁶ Still later A. J. Morrison in a footnote to his *Travels in Virginia in Revolutionary Times* suggested that Anburey's work might be "wholly a compilation, done skilfully at London."⁷

This note will show that the confident judgment of the *Travels* made by Tuckerman and Channing must be modified and that the suspicions of Trevelyan and Morrison rested on more foundations than they knew or cared to say. The truth of the matter is that Lieutenant Anburey's *Travels* are for the most part lifted from earlier publications.

Thomas Anburey was a young man of fair education when, for love of military adventure, as he said, he left England in 1776 to join the British Army in Canada as a volunteer in the Twenty-ninth Regiment of Foot. After some months, on August 10, 1777, he secured his commission as ensign in the Twenty-fourth Regiment.⁸ Anburey was entering upon a new life in a new land; of both, no doubt, he wrote in letters home, telling anecdotes, describing different peoples and customs, expressing his British opinions of America and its inhabitants. Perhaps also, for he was sufficiently well educated to be conscious of the significance of the movement he was a part of, he made a few rough notes, with the unexpressed, almost unformed thought of writing up his experiences.

Not that these experiences were in fact more remarkable than

⁶ *The American Revolution*, pt. 3, New York and London, p. 75n.

⁷ Lynchburg, Va., 1922, p. 24n.

⁸ Practically nothing more than this is known of the man. Some years ago it was suggested as possible, but not probable, that Anburey was the same as Major General Sir Thomas Anburey of the Bengal Engineers, but this is untenable. Cf. Lieutenant James M. Hadden. *A Journal kept in Canada and upon Burgoyne's Campaign in 1776 and 1777*, Albany, N. Y., 1884, pp. xcvi-xcix; W. Y. Baldry, librarian of the War Office, to author, London, January 5, 1935. Three years later, on January 3, 1938, Mr. Baldry wrote me again, this time enclosing a copy of a letter to him from Major V. C. P. Hodson, of Byecross, Georgeham, North Devon, to whom he had originally put my inquiries, saying that he (Hodson) had just come into possession of information which showed definitely that Lieutenant Thomas and Major General Sir Thomas were not identical.

those of a hundred other young British officers. Anburey passed eight months in Canada while the army prepared itself for the invasion of New York; he was one of it as it moved slowly southward to the unfortunate climax of the campaign at Saratoga. As a prisoner of war he marched with his fellows-in-arms over the snow-covered mountains to Cambridge; and at Cambridge he chafed for a year under the delays Congress put in the way of ratifying the Convention and sending the army home. The next year, 1778, he set out for Virginia with the troops and passed an imprisonment of three years in Charlottesville, Winchester, Frederick, and Lancaster. Not until 1781, when an exchange of officers was effected, did he travel north again, to embark at last for England in the last weeks of that year. On this framework of his movements the soldier-author hung a hundred accounts of the manners of the Americans, descriptions of their country, and reflections on both. If, circumstances aside, he made no unusual journey, still he saw a good bit of the country and some at least of its people.

Both America and the Americans doubtless made a part of his conversation when he returned to England and resigned from the service in 1783. Speaking in a light and pleasant manner (if he spoke as he wrote), he could not have failed to delight dinner companions with such anecdotes as that of the caleche driver in Quebec or with the lively story, which seemed to leave so much unsaid, of the night he had to bundle with Jemima in a Connecticut farmhouse. Over a good dinner he could talk of old companions-in-arms, some now on distant posts, some dead in the American forests. And, staunchly defending Burgoyne against a swarm of critics, this testimony of one of Burgoyne's officers could not have been uninteresting to the friends and supporters of that unlucky general.

Probably the suggestion that he write up an account of the Saratoga Campaign and its aftermath and of his experiences in America came from others; probably at the same time, however,

this suggestion fell in with Anburey's own earlier and unfulfilled idea of writing that story. At any rate highly-placed patrons enabled the lieutenant to make an imposing subscription list, headed by four members of the Royal Family, and guaranteed the work. But Anburey, turning to the business of composition, found his memory inadequate to the task. Eleven or twelve years had passed since he sailed to Quebec, six or seven since he left New York for home. He may have secured some assistance from letters written during his sojourn in America, if his friends had kept them; and from notes taken during the campaign, if he had in fact made any. But he found his surest and, in the end, his most constant reliance was on the booksellers. They supplied him with a shelf-full of the best books on America and the war. Not only did Anburey make himself acquainted with them before he began to write; he kept them open before him as he composed.

The work appeared in two volumes in 1789 and was immediately reviewed by several London magazines. Not all reviewers were misled by Anburey's bland assurance that the "style and manner" of the letters would "clearly evince them to be the actual results of a familiar correspondence," and that what he wrote "came within his own knowledge" or—a thin reed to support his integrity—was "supported by some honorable authority."⁹ *The Monthly Review* was suspicious but non-committal. "The letters have *the appearance* of having been written on the spot, according to the times and places of their dates," it observed, and remarked the similarity between the language of Anburey's forty-first letter and that of the *Annual Register* for 1777 at page 171.¹⁰ The *Critical Review* spoke in unequivocal terms:

From a careful comparison we can pronounce this work, in its most essential parts [those relating to the Saratoga Campaign], to be an ill-digested plagiarism from general Burgoyne's Narrative, and from the Account of the Prosecution of Colonel Henley. He arraigns Sir William Howe in the same manner as Mr.

⁹ *Travels*, I, pp. vi-vii. All references are to the 1789 edition.

¹⁰ *The Monthly Review*; or, *Literary Journal*, LXXXI, 1789, pp. 61-67.

Galloway and a numerous herd of pamphleteers have already done; and, when he speaks of that general's neglect in not attacking Washington at Valley Forge, he adopts the sentiments and expressions of the Pennsylvania lawyer. The similarity of language in various parts of these volumes, to that which occurs in the works referred to, render us a little suspicious that the more material parts of these letters were not written on the spot.

In the second volume, the reviewer continued, Anburey's guides were Burnaby's *Travels* and Crèvecoeur's *Letters from an American Farmer*, though he did allow that the lieutenant "must have seen many scenes of the kind which he describes." In those instances where Anburey chose to describe himself what he had seen, he wrote "faithfully, and often pleasingly:" his account of the movements on Lake Champlain, for example, was, to the reviewer, "the most entertaining, and . . . undoubtedly the most original part of the whole work."¹¹

The charges were true; indeed, the truth was worse than even the *Critical Review* knew. The fact of the matter was that Thomas Anburey's *Travels* were lifted in large chunks from the accounts and descriptions of more than a dozen earlier travels, histories, and geographies. Anburey took part or all of not less than 40 of the 79 letters in his work from one or more of the sources mentioned in this note; and had it seemed worth while to search for more borrowed passages more could have been found. In thus borrowing without acknowledgment, Anburey was of course doing only what others did—and this can be said to his credit, that if he borrowed from others, it was from the better writers on America; if he copied, it was not without some imagination. Some of his letters are constructed of sentences and paragraphs from three or four writers. Letter 58, for example, contains materials from Peters, Chastellux, Kalm, and Burnaby; letter 76 from Peters,

¹¹ *The Critical Review: or, Annals of Literature*, LXVIII, 1789, pp. 112-118. Rather uncritical reviews, accepting the *Travels* for what they purported to be, appeared in *The Analytical Review, or History of Literature*, IV, 1789, pp. 392-401, which took exception to Anburey's reflections on the Americans, and in *The European Magazine, and London Review*, XIX, 1791, pp. 185-188, which pronounced the work an "intelligent and accurate account of the country."

Kalm, Smyth, and Burnaby. And in general Anburey improved the language of his originals, making it clearer and more succinct, on the whole more pleasant and more personal.

The *Critical Review* had spoken the truth with respect to the sources of Anburey's account of the Burgoyne campaign and of his remarks on Howe's policy. No more than any other soldier could Anburey appreciate the fullness of any military movement of which he was part. The incidents which came within his own view he could of course relate at first hand, but for the larger picture of the campaign and the tide of battles he must go to the historians. He was neither the first nor the last to find in the *Annual Register* a general account of the campaign of 1777—as well, incidentally, as reflections on the significance of the surrender at Yorktown.¹² Passages from Burgoyne's apology not only strengthened Anburey's account of that officer's campaign, but supplied several incidents which added interest to the *Travels*.¹³ Galloway's strictures on Howe's conduct in 1777 and 1778 Anburey certainly approved and probably used.¹⁴ The long quotations from the testimony at the trial of Colonel Henley at Cambridge were not "taken in short-hand" by Anburey or a friend, as he implied, but were copied, page after page, from the published *Proceedings* of the court martial.¹⁵

¹² Cf. *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politicks, and Literature, For the Year*, London, 1759 et seq.: 1777, p. *146 with Anburey, I, p. 309; AR, 1777, p. *147, Anburey, I, p. 313; AR, 1777, p. *153, Anburey, I, pp. 360-361; AR, 1777, pp. *165-166, Anburey, I, pp. 415-416; AR, 1777, pp. *166-167, Anburey, I, p. 426; AR, 1777, pp. *168-172, Anburey, I, pp. 452-467; AR, 1778, pp. *213-214, Anburey, II, pp. 84-88; AR, 1781, p. *136, Anburey, II, p. 556.

¹³ Cf. John Burgoyne. *A State of the Expedition from Canada, as laid before the House of Commons*, London, 1780, pp. 111-112 with Anburey, I, pp. 378-384; Burgoyne, pp. 125-126, Anburey, I, pp. 448-449; Burgoyne, pp. 127-129, Anburey, I, pp. 454-457; Burgoyne, app. pp. xii-xiv, Anburey, I, pp. 281-290; Burgoyne, app. p. xvi, Anburey, I, pp. 319-321.

¹⁴ Cf. Joseph Galloway. *Letters to a Nobleman on the Conduct of the War in the Middle Colonies*, 2nd ed., London, 1779, pp. 87-89 with Anburey, II, pp. 292-299.

¹⁵ Cf. *Proceedings of a Court Martial, held at Cambridge, by order of Major General Heath, commanding the American troops for the Northern District, for the trial of Colonel David Henley, accused by General Burgoyne, of ill treatment of the British Soldiers, &c.*, London, 1778, pp. 5-9, 10-11, 54-71, 121-147 with Anburey, II, pp. 90-92, 102-195.

In similar fashion Lieutenant Anburey laid earlier travelers and geographers under contribution for descriptions of the country and manners of the Americans. Although mistaken in citing Crèvecoeur as one of Anburey's sources, the *Critical Review* was correct in naming the Reverend Mr. Andrew Burnaby's *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North-America, In the Years 1759 and 1760*. Burnaby was the author of a number of the lieutenant's descriptions of natural wonders, his account of the courtship custom of tarrying, and his reflections on the curiosity of the New Englanders.¹⁶ These last show how Anburey personalized his narrative. Burnaby had been told an anecdote, a stock story, "of a gentleman of Philadelphia," probably Dr. Franklin, who had been irritated by the inquisitiveness of the New Englanders; but Anburey reported the same story in the same words as coming directly from "a Virginia officer" who, according to Anburey, had been the principal in the tale.¹⁷

Thomas Anburey was indebted to two other works on America, as the bibliographer C. D. Ebeling recognized in the last century.¹⁸ The published travels of Anburey's fellow-countryman, J. F. D. Smyth, rather than the lieutenant's prolonged sojourn in the Valley of Virginia provided Anburey with accounts of Virginia manners and with descriptions of some American towns.¹⁹

¹⁶ Burnaby's work appeared at London in 1775. Cf. Burnaby, p. 67 with Anburey, II, pp. 535-536; Burnaby, pp. 61-62, Anburey, II, pp. 531-533; Burnaby, pp. 33-34, Anburey, II, pp. 469-471; Burnaby, pp. 56-57, Anburey, II, pp. 267-268; Burnaby, pp. 83-84, Anburey, II, pp. 96-98; Burnaby, pp. 82-83, Anburey, II, pp. 68-70; Burnaby, pp. 81-82, Anburey, II, pp. 64-65, 66.

¹⁷ Cf. Burnaby, pp. 82-83 with Anburey, II, pp. 69-70. The story was told as from the common stock by Patrick M'Robert, whose *Tour through part of the North Provinces of America* was published at Edinburgh in 1776 and was edited by Carl Bridenbaugh and reprinted in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Pamphlet Series*, No. 1.

¹⁸ Ebeling's note, that Anburey copied from Peters and "very impudently" from Smyth, appears in Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books relating to America from its Discovery to the present Time*, 29v., New York, 1868-1936, I, p. 172.

¹⁹ Cf. Smyth's *A Tour in the United States of America*, 2v., London, 1784, I, pp. 32-33 with Anburey, II, pp. 343-344; Smyth, I, pp. 35-36, Anburey, II, pp. 346-347; Smyth, I, pp. 43-48, Anburey, II, pp. 331-335; Smyth, I, pp. 65-69, Anburey, II, pp. 371-375; Smyth, I, p. 69, Anburey, II, p. 410; Smyth, II, p. 279, Anburey,

And from the unreliable history of Connecticut of the Reverend Mr. Samuel Peters came more natural descriptions, and several anecdotes of New England history, including Peters's tale, spun out of the whole cloth, of how the people of Windham mistook an army of thirsty frogs for the enemy in the French War and fled in confusion before them.²⁰

Anburey's bookseller probably sent his author a set of the History of the Indies of the Abbé G. T. F. Raynal, or at least the fourth and fifth volumes, which Anburey could use. A single instance of Anburey's indebtedness to the Frenchman was noticed five years ago by Wylie Sypher, a description of the Indian and flattering reflections on the noble savage.²¹ Mr. Sypher could equally have pointed to the long account of the Dunkards at Ephrata, the description of the port and town of Boston, the passage on the cultivation of cotton, and the descriptions of many Canadian animals, all lifted by Anburey from the philosopher of the Indies.²²

Copying as he did from several works, Anburey occasionally fell into contradictions. Mr. Sypher pointed to the contradiction in Anburey's remarks on the American Indians. The idyllic life of the noble savage had an unlovely side—they scalped their ene-

II, pp. 307-308; Smyth, II, pp. 377-378, Anburey, II, p. 542; Smyth, II, pp. 381-384, Anburey, II, pp. 535-538.

²⁰ Cf. Peters, *A General History of Connecticut*, 2nd ed., London, 1782, pp. 195-196 with Anburey, II, pp. 526-527; Peters, p. 210, Anburey, II, p. 522; Peters, pp. 166-167, Anburey, II, pp. 520-522; Peters, p. 183, Anburey, II, pp. 260-261; Peters, pp. 175-176, Anburey, II, pp. 523-524; Peters, pp. 250-252, Anburey, II, pp. 524-525; Peters, pp. 151-154, Anburey, II, pp. 225-227; Peters, pp. 257-258, Anburey, II, pp. 227-228. The first edition of Peters appeared at London in 1781. It is interesting to note that Walter F. Prince in his *Examination of Peters's "Blue Laws,"* American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1898, p. 100, says that Peters "quoted more than once" from Burnaby.

²¹ *Thomas Anburey on the Indian: His Plagiarism from Raynal.* In: *Franco-American Review*, II, Spring, 1938, pp. 272-275.

²² Cf. Raynal. *A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, J. Justamond, trans., 3d ed., 5v., London, 1777, IV, p. 339 with Anburey, II, pp. 423-426; Raynal, IV, pp. 481-491, Anburey, I, pp. 228-235, 237-248; Raynal, V, pp. 241-244, Anburey, II, pp. 284-290; Raynal, V, pp. 210-211, Anburey, II, pp. 71-73.

mies, as Anburey could have learned from Captain Jonathan Carver:²³

At this business [scalping] they are exceedingly expert. They seize the head of the disabled or dead enemy, and placing one of their feet on the neck, twist their left hand in the hair; by this means, having extended the skin that covers the top of the head, they draw out their scalping knives, which are always kept in good order for this cruel purpose, and with a few dextrous strokes take off the part that is termed the scalp. They are so expeditious in doing this, that the whole time required scarcely exceeds a minute. These they preserve as monuments of their prowess, and at the same time as proofs of the vengeance they have inflicted on their enemies.—Carver, pp. 328-329.

Whenever they scalp, they seize the head of the disabled or dead enemy, and placing one of their feet on the neck, twist their left hand in the hair, by which means they extend the skin that covers the top of the head, and with the other hand draw their scalping knife from the breast, which is always kept in good order for this cruel purpose, a few dextrous strokes of which takes off the part that is termed the scalp; they are so exceedingly expeditious in doing this, that it scarcely exceeds a minute. If the hair is short, and they have no purchase with their hand, they stoop, and with their teeth strip it off; when they have performed this part of their martial virtue, as soon as time permits, they tie with bark or deer's sinews their speaking trophies of blood in a small hoop, to preserve it from putrefaction, painting part of the scalp and the hoop all round with red. These they preserve as monuments of their prowess, and at the same time as proofs of the vengeance they have inflicted on their enemies.—Anburey, I, pp. 399-400.

The Critical Review had praised Anburey for describing the Moravian settlement at Bethlehem more particularly than it had been described by other writers. This only showed that the reviewer was not acquainted with the recently published *Travels* of the French Marquis de Chastellux, who in 1782 had had the same experiences at Bethlehem which Anburey said he had the year before. Fishkill, too, was reported by Anburey through the

²³ *Travels through the Interior Parts of North-America, in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768*, London, 1778. Probably Anburey took this paragraph from another who had borrowed from Carver; if he did in fact lift this from Carver, the paragraph shows how skilfully he blended materials taken from two or more sources. For evidence that Carver was himself no stranger to the ways of plagiarism, see Edward G. Bourne, *The Travels of Jonathan Carver*, in: *American Historical Review*, XI, Jan., 1906, pp. 287-302.

eyes of his French predecessor in publication. And in Connecticut Anburey, like Chastellux, was irritated by the size of the sprawling townships:²⁴

On descending the hills, and before we reach the valley, is the town or hamlet of Plainfield; for what is called in America, a town or township, is only a certain number of houses, dispersed over a great space, but which belongs to the same incorporation, and send deputies to the general assembly of the state. The centre or head quarters of these towns is the meeting-house or church. This church stands sometimes single, and is sometimes surrounded by four or five houses only; whence it happens, that when a traveller asks the question: How far is it to such a town? He is answered, You are there already; but when he specifies the place he wishes to be at, whether it be the meeting, or such a tavern, he not unfrequently is told, You are seven or eight miles from it.—Chastellux, I, pp. 20-21.

Most of the places you pass through in Connecticut are called townships (as the township of Endfield, Suffield, &c.) which are not regular towns as in England, but a number of houses dispersed over a large tract of ground, belonging to one incorporation, that sends members to the General Assembly of the States. About the centre of these townships stands the meeting-house or church, with a few surrounding houses; sometimes the church stands singly. It is no little mortification, when fatigued, after a long day's journey, on enquiring how far it is to such a town, to be informed you are there at present; but on enquiring for the church, or any particular tavern, you are informed it is seven or eight miles further.—Anburey, II, p. 261.

Peter Kalm, not Crèvecoeur as the *Critical Review* suspected, was the source of a number of descriptions of nature in Anburey's book. From the Swedish botanist the British soldier took his descriptions of Bay St. Paul, the Falls of Montmorency, the humming-bird, the mocking-bird, New York, and his account of the origin of lobsters in New York harbor.²⁵ The two authors' accounts of wayside shrines in Canada are also very similar:

²⁴ Cf. Chastellux. *Travels in North-America, In the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782*, 2v., Dublin, 1787, I, pp. 20-21 with Anburey, II, p. 261; Chastellux, I, pp. 63-64, 67-69, Anburey, II, pp. 262-264; Chastellux, II, pp. 324-331, Anburey, II, pp. 512-518.

²⁵ Cf. Kalm. *Travels into North America*, 3v., Warrington and London, 1770-1771, III, p. 80 with Anburey, I, pp. 101-102; Kalm, I, pp. 249-250, Anburey, II, pp. 531-533; Kalm, I, pp. 240-241, Anburey, II, pp. 534-535; Kalm, III, pp. 227-229, Anburey, I, pp. 91-93; Kalm, I, pp. 217-219, Anburey, II, pp. 276-277; Kalm, I, pp. 210-216, Anburey, II, pp. 201-204; Kalm, III, pp. 200-201, Anburey, I, pp. 39-42.

There are several Crosses put up with the road side, which is parallel to the shores of the river. These crosses are very common in Canada, and are put up to excite devotion in the travellers. They are made of wood, five or six yards high, and proportionally broad. In that side which looks towards the road is a square hole, in which they place an image of our Saviour, the cross or of the holy Virgin, with the child in her arms; and before that they put a piece of glass, to prevent its being spoiled by the weather. Those crosses which are not far from churches, are very much adorned, and they put up about them all the instruments which they think the Jews employed in crucifying our Saviour, such as a hammer, tongs, nails, a flask of vinegar, and perhaps many more than were really made use of. A figure of the cock which crowed when St. Peter denied our Lord, is commonly put at the top of the cross.—Kalm, III, p. 80.

Between each church, or village, there are several crosses put up on the road-side, parallel to the shores of the river, and which are common throughout Canada. They are made of wood, about fifteen or twenty feet high, and proportionably broad: in that side towards the road is a square hole, in which they place some wax images, either of our Saviour on the cross, or of the holy Virgin, with the child in her arms, and before that, a piece of glass to prevent its being injured by the weather. These crosses are ornamented with all the instruments they think the Jews employed in crucifying our Saviour, such as the hammer, tongs, nails, a flask of vinegar, with many more things than one would suppose were really made use of, or even invented; and frequently the figure of a cock is placed at the top, which appeared to me rather singular, as it could not have the least affinity to the crucifixion, and must rather be supposed an allusion to the cock's crowing when St. Peter denied our Saviour.—Anburey, I, pp. 101-102.

What Anburey had to say about the soil of New England he could have found in Burke's *European Settlements*, whence, probably, at least two other works lifted the same passage:²⁶

The soil of New England is various, but best as you approach the Southward. It affords excellent meadows in the low grounds, and very good pastures almost every where. They commonly allot at the rate of two acres to the maintenance of a cow. The meadows which they reckon the best, yield about a ton of hay by the acre. Some produce two tons, but the hay is rank and sour. This country is not very favorable to any of the European kinds of grain. The wheat is subject to be blasted; the barley is an hungry grain, and the oats are lean and chaffy. But the

²⁶ [Burke], *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, 2v., London, 1757. The same passage appears in *The History of North America. Containing an exact Account of their first Settlements; their situation, climate, soil . . .* [etc.], London, 1776, and in *The North-American and the West-Indian Gazetteer*, 2nd ed., London, 1778, s.v. "England, New."

Indian corn, which makes the general food of the lowest sort of people, flourishes here. * * *

Their horned cattle are very numerous in New England, and some of them very large. Oxen have been killed there of eighteen hundred weight. Hogs likewise are numerous and particularly excellent; and some so large as to weigh twenty-five score.—Burke, II, pp. 158, 160.

The soil of New-England is various, but I observed it was more prolific towards the Southward; there are excellent meadows in the low grounds, and good pasture almost every where; their best meadows will yield about a ton of hay by the acre; some will produce two, but that is what is termed timothy hay, which is rank and sour. The country, as I before observed, is not favorable to any grain except the Indian corn; the cattle in New-England are very numerous, and some of them very large; hogs are likewise in great abundance, and particularly excellent, being fattened upon the Indian corn, and some so large as to weigh twenty-five score.—Anburey, II, p. 220.

The conclusion need not be labored. Anburey's account of the movements of the army with which he served was in essential respects taken from semi-official writings available to all; his descriptions of America and its people came for the most part not from his own observations, but from the previously published descriptions of others. Even some of the anecdotes and incidents which he says came to him from a friend or brother officer had been told years before by someone else. What remains of Anburey's own are a few anecdotes, some pictures and sidelights, and some judgments. When all this is said, however, it still remains to say that even though the *Travels* are not authentic, what they report is essentially correct. They have on the whole a sound ring; and if they are read with the understanding that, like streams, they can rise no higher than their sources (usually literary), they are still of worth and still good reading. As the *Critical Review* put it in 1789, Anburey's views "are clear, instructive, and characteristic: for these we are certainly indebted to him, and they have much merit."

The significance of this note, if it has any, is not so much that it destroys Anburey as an authority, as that it underlines the suggestion made forty years ago by Professor Orin G. Libby, that, as

the *Annual Register* was the source of so many histories of the American Revolution, a study of the American news in that publication is in order.²⁷ Seeming to indicate that a small collection of facts served as a reservoir out of which a succession of writers drew their information regarding America,²⁸ this note suggests the possibility of a study into the elements of Europe's knowledge of America in the eighteenth century; it asks to what extent these few facts by constant repetition to European readers formed popular conceptions of America in the Old World in the eighteenth century.

²⁷ Libby. *A Critical Examination of William Gordon's History of the American Revolution*. In: American Historical Association. *Annual Report*, 1899, I, pp. 367-388; *Some Pseudo Histories of the American Revolution*. In: Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, *Transactions*, XIII, pt. 1, 1900, pp. 419-425; *Ramsay as a Plagiarist*. In: *American Historical Review*, VII, July, 1902, pp. 697-703. For evidence of John Marshall's plagiarism from the *Annual Register*, see William A. Foran. *John Marshall as a Historian*. In: *American Historical Review*, XLIII, October, 1937, pp. 51-64.

²⁸ The infinite ramifications of this business, hinted at in notes 20, 23, and 26, are further suggested by finding a comment on the population of Pennsylvania in *The North-American and the West-Indian Gazetteer*, s.v. "Pensylvania," almost identical with an observation on the same subject in the manuscript *Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies*, 1765, printed in *American Historical Review*, XXVII, October, 1921, p. 80. Material in the *Gazetteer*, s.v. "York, New," is identical with that in *The History of the British Dominions in North America*, London, 1773, Bk. III, pp. 69-71; and the remarks on tobacco, land, and timber in this last-named work, Bk. III, pp. 123-124, are to be found also in John Entick. *The Present State of the British Empire*, 4v., London, 1774, IV, pp. 439-440. Again, *The History of North America*, cited in note 26, copied from Raynal, Kalm, and Daniel Coxe's *Carolana* (S. J. Buck. *Travel and Description*, 1765-1865. In: Illinois State Historical Library. *Collections*, IX, p. 28); while a description of the St. Lawrence appears in nearly identical terms in this *History*, pp. 229-230, in Anburey, I, p. 27, and in William Guthrie. *A New Geographical, Historical and Commercial Grammar; and Present State of the Several Kingdoms of the World*, 12th ed., London, 1790, p. 783. Even Americans copied the Englishmen's descriptions of their country, and that uncritically. Cf. Burnaby, p. 82 with *A Description of Boston*, in *Columbian Magazine*, I, Philadelphia, 1787, p. 790.

In this place I wish to acknowledge gratefully the suggestions and criticisms of Dr. Robert L. Brunhouse, of Drew University.

PRINTING IN THE BLACK HILLS*

By DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE

THE accepted date of the discovery of gold in the Black Hills of South Dakota is July 30, 1874. Since printers, in other parts of the country in which gold was found, always followed closely on the heels of the prospectors, it occurred to me to see what was recorded about the introduction of the press into that region.

The available published information on this subject was found to be both scanty and sketchy. Experience has shown me that accounts of such events, written from memory by early-day printers and editors many years afterwards, are likely to be inaccurate as to facts, even though they may be colorful. And even such material was almost wholly lacking as to the early press of the Black Hills.

The best sources of information, of course, are such issues of the pioneer newspapers themselves as may have been preserved. Also valuable are references to the pioneer newspapers in the columns of their contemporaries. Since the principal points of entry into the Black Hills at the time of the gold boom were Yankton, Sioux City, and Cheyenne, the contemporary press of those places seemed to offer promise of the best results. And since the files of the early Wyoming newspapers were already before me, I began my search with them, beginning with the issues of July, 1874.

* This article is a continuation of the author's *Early Printing in Wyoming* published in the PAPERS, vol. 36, 1942, pp. 267-304, and is based on the same source material. The footnotes herein are numbered consecutively with those of the earlier article.

For almost two years the *Cheyenne Leader* told only of the difficulties of getting into the Black Hills region and of efforts to open up means of communication. The *Leader* of September 1, 1874, told of plans to extend the telegraph to the Black Hills, a distance of two hundred miles, but six days' travel. Stage lines were promoted, and maps of the region were in demand. Representatives of eastern newspapers flocked to Cheyenne in search of news about the Black Hills for the people back east.

But the principal obstacle in the way of the gold seekers was the hostility of the Indians, the various tribes of the Sioux nation who inhabited the Black Hills country. The government of the United States strenuously opposed the influx of the white men into the Indian country. In March, 1875, General W. T. Sherman, in command of the Department of the Platte at Omaha, issued an order that "those persons at present within that territory without permission must be expelled" unless some treaty could be concluded with the Indians.

Efforts to make a treaty with the Sioux failed, and General Sherman issued orders in June, 1875, forbidding citizens to go to the Black Hills, while General Crook was sent into the region to drive the miners out, ordering all of them to be out of the Black Hills by the middle of August, but allowing them to stake out, describe, and record their claims before leaving. The Indians stolidly refused to surrender the Black Hills by treaty, the miners continued to flock in, and the *Leader* of November 24, 1875, was able to report that the federal government had decided to allow the gold seekers to go to "the Hills" at their own risk. The region was not opened to legal settlement until February, 1877.

In the meantime, on April 17, 1875, the *Leader* published an extra Black Hills edition; 50,000 copies, printed for the *Leader* in Chicago, were issued on that date, and another 50,000 on April 30th. As the entire population of Wyoming at that time was only about 20,000, this mammoth edition was intended mainly for distribution in other parts of the country.

According to the *Leader* of February 2, 1876, there were 1,000 men in the Black Hills at that time, and a few weeks later, on February 29th, the same paper rather excitedly estimated that 100,000 more would pass through Cheyenne before the end of the year. The first stagecoach for the Hills left Cheyenne with seven passengers on February 3rd, said the *Leader* of that date. At first twice a week, the stage was to begin running daily some time in March.

The first hint that printers were beginning to show interest in establishing themselves in the Black Hills was found in the *Leader* of January 14, 1876, which reported that Robert E. Strahorn, traveling correspondent of the Denver *Rocky Mountain News*—in whose work and writings, incidentally, I have always taken a special interest—"contemplates starting a paper at the Black Hills early in the coming spring." Strahorn's interest may have stimulated Al Merrick, also of the Denver *News*, to his pioneer enterprise in "the Hills," but otherwise nothing is known to have come of it. Next, the *Leader* of March 1, 1876, reported that a pair of "blacksmiths" (printers' slang for incompetent craftsmen) had left for Custer City that day, with talk about starting a newspaper there. Nothing came of that, either, it would seem.

Not long afterwards, however, we find a record of the real Black Hills printing pioneers. In the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* of March 9, 1876, is the following report:

W. A. Laughlin and A. W. Merrick, of Denver, started from that city for the Black Hills last Sunday [March 5th]. Mr. Laughlin has, for the past several years, been foreman of the Denver *Farmer*, while Mr. Merrick occupied a position on the Denver *News*. They are equipped with a complete printing outfit, embracing a half-medium Gordon press, type 'till you can't rest, and a full supply of paper and ink. They will establish the Black Hills *Pioneer* either at Custer or Hill City.

And the *Leader* of March 11th reported that "Mr. Laughlin, of the firm of Laughlin & Merrick, who propose to start a paper at the Black Hills, arrived here yesterday with the material and will depart at once for the new Eldorado."

In the *Leader* of March 12, 1876, we read: "Press and materials for the Black Hills newspaper are on the way from Missouri, but have been detained at Juanita, Nebraska, by a snow blockade." Since we can later read in the first issue of the *Black Hills Pioneer*, and elsewhere, that Laughlin and Merrick left Denver with practically everything needed for producing their paper, and since we see from the *Leader* that the *Pioneer* material was already in Cheyenne on the 10th or 12th, it seems clear that the "press and materials" from Missouri belonged to another Black Hills newspaper project, which we shall have occasion to note later.

Although the *Leader* of March 11, 1876, had reported that Laughlin "arrived here yesterday with the material," the same paper on March 14th said that "Press and material for the Black Hills *Pioneer* arrived here Sunday [March 12th] and went out yesterday on the road to Eldorado." It had taken the Laughlin and Merrick wagons²⁵ about a week to cover the hundred miles or so from Denver to Cheyenne, and the rest of their journey was fraught with even greater difficulties. In the *Leader* of March 26th we read bad news:

Messrs. Laughlin & Merrick, who recently left this city with the material for the publication of the Black Hills *Pioneer*, employed a tenderfoot as driver of one of their teams, and the result was that said wagon was upset between Cheyenne and Ft. Laramie, making a bad mess of what is known in printers' parlance as "pi."

The *Cheyenne Daily Sun* of March 30, 1876, reported: "Mr. A. W. Merrick, who will be one of the editors of the Black Hills *Pioneer* arrived in the city from Denver. The first number of the paper will be issued about the 20th prox." But the *Leader* of the same date told of more bad luck for the *Pioneer* expedition in the announcement that "Mr. Laughlin, of Laughlin & Merrick, of the Black Hills *Pioneer*, is seriously ill at Ft. Laramie." Of the

²⁵ "Yesterday afternoon, . . . some teams, 'loaded to the guards' with the press, material and appliances that constitute a newspaper office, went slowly up Blake street, on their journey to the Black Hills region."—*Denver Tribune*, quoted in the first issue of the *Black Hills Pioneer*.

other partner, whose arrival in Cheyenne is also reported in the same issue of the *Leader*, that paper gives us a favorable account: "Mr. Merrick is an old typo, a tip-top good fellow and should stack up loads of ducats in the new enterprise."

The *Daily Sun* of May 4, 1876, contains an item from its Black Hills correspondent:

Laughlin has opened up a printing office and is running a small Ruggles press. He has issued circulars stating that he will soon start a daily paper and is daily expecting the arrival of his newspaper stock.

This gives us an approximate date for the first use of a press in the Black Hills region, a month and more in advance of the date of the first newspaper. The item leaves us rather in the dark as to the place where this printing was done, but it seems safe to assume that it was at Custer City, the point at which Laughlin and Merrick intended at first to start their newspaper.

The *Leader* of May 21, 1876, reported that the two partners were still waiting for their equipment, which had then been two months on the road. A severe storm which Wyoming suffered in May, 1876, had further aggravated the delay. But finally the *Leader*, in its issue of June 8th, was able to report that the material so long awaited for the Black Hills *Pioneer* had arrived on the 26th of May and that the paper would be published soon.

While the equipment for the *Pioneer* was still toiling along the road to the Black Hills, the *Cheyenne Leader* resolved that the miners in that region should not be without newspapers. In its issue of April 12, 1876, the *Leader* announced its intention to put out a semi-weekly of eight pages, beginning May 1st, to be delivered to the Black Hills "cities" by Clippenger's Express. At the same time, W. H. Hosford was named as the agent for the *Leader* in the Hills.

To leave the *Pioneer* for a moment, we find that Laughlin & Merrick were not the only ones who were ambitious to begin newspaper publication in the Black Hills. We have already noted

the press and materials from Missouri which were delayed in reaching Cheyenne by a snow blockade in March, 1876. Perhaps it was this equipment of which the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* spoke in its issue of March 29th:

James Moore [a mistake, I believe, for Thorne], of Nebraska City, is taking another fair sized printing press into the Hills. It is now at the depot. The Printers have eyes for opportunity. [And the *Leader* of March 30th reported:] The press and material for a new paper to be published at Custer City arrived here yesterday. Hon. James Thorn [*i.e.*, Thorne], the proprietor thereof, will arrive here to-day from Nebraska City, Nebr.

Thorne, the *Leader* tells us here, was formerly a member of the Nebraska legislature. But the eventual disposition of this printing equipment is made doubtful by an item in the *Daily Sun* of April 4th:

Hon. James Thorne, of Nebraska City, Nebr., . . . informs us that he has a complete printing outfit at the Cheyenne depot. As he is not a printer and never had any journalistic experience, the outfit is a sort of white elephant on his hands. Mr. Thorne talks of starting a Democratic daily either in Cheyenne or Laramie City.

The printing outfit of this Nebraska legislator never reached the Black Hills,²⁶ and no more is to be found about the Hon. Mr. Thorne as a journalist in either Wyoming or the Black Hills.

After Laughlin and Merrick received their long delayed printing equipment, it was still two weeks before they got out the first issue of their paper. One of the reasons for this additional delay was an abrupt change of location. The partners located first at Custer City, to the south of the Black Hills. They had set the type for the first issue of their *Pioneer* when news came of the rich gold strike in Deadwood Gulch, on the north side of the Hills. They hurriedly loaded up their equipment and set out for Deadwood, and the first number of the *Black Hills Pioneer* was dated at

²⁶ "In 1876 [James Thorne] went to Cheyenne, Wyoming, with a large printing outfit [that of the *Nebraska City Chronicle*], which he intended to take to Deadwood, but on account of war-like Indians he could not get through, so he went to Laramie, where he sold his equipment."—Julius Sterling Morton. *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, 2 vols., Lincoln, 1907-1913, vol. 2, p. 348.

Deadwood City, June 8, 1876.²⁷ Incidentally, something of the difficulties of communication may be inferred from the fact that it was not until June 18th that the *Cheyenne Leader* was able to report the first issue of the new paper, which it welcomed as a "very bright and interesting sheet."

The first issue of the *Black Hills Pioneer*²⁸ tells the not unfamiliar story of the difficulties of starting a newspaper in a new settlement. On the first page we read:

Notice. We issue to-day only a half sheet. Our regular issue will be just double the size of the present copy. But owing to the fact that we are working almost out of doors, with the elements apparently conspiring against us, it is impossible to fill the bill as we anticipated. Our material has been in Deadwood less than a week; our house is not up; it has rained two days during the time, and we think every one who knows anything about the mechanical work of a printing office will appreciate our condition and bear for the present with the very best it is possible to do. . . .

Then, in their "Salutatory," the publishers of the *Pioneer* continue:

To all who see this paper, we wish to say that it is published under many difficulties, and that it is not what we intend to make it. It is an enterprise that has not a parallel in the United States, and still we hope to overcome all the untoward circumstances that surround us. Our material to print this paper was transported in the depth of winter, almost 400 miles, and brought through and into a hostile Indian country, and in the first settlements made [*i.e.*, Custer City?] we have set up our press and set the type for this number of our paper. . . . We shall do everything in our power to bring the country of the Black Hills into civilization and to replace the nomads of the plains by a people of enterprise and determination, sufficient to make the great wilderness from Nebraska and Wyoming to the British Possessions the home of a happy and prosperous people. . . . With many troubles not incident to publishers in older communities, we intend to overcome them all; and, finally, when this wild country shall become a state of the Union, we will have the proud satisfaction of knowing that we have done our part in the mighty progress of empire.

²⁷ The first issue of the *Pioneer* contains nothing about this change of location. See Lee Morford. *Newspapers of the Black Hills* in: *The Black Hills Engineer*, vol. 18, no. 1, January, 1939, pp. 61-66, at p. 61, and article on *Newspapers of South Dakota*, in: *South Dakota Historical Collections*, vol. 11, 1922, pp. 411-518, at p. 417.

²⁸ The contents of this first issue of the *Pioneer* are reprinted in full in *South Dakota Historical Publications*, vol. 11, 1922, at pp. 494-506.

Also on the first page are a number of excerpts from other newspapers about the venture of Laughlin and Merrick into the wilderness. In a quotation from the *Denver Tribune*, evidently from an issue just after the partners left Denver, we read the somewhat peculiar statement that the first number of the *Black Hills Pioneer* "will be dated earlier than that of any rival sheet, so that it will be a pioneer in fact, as well as in name." And on the other side of the sheet, under the heading "Local News," we find this item: "J. S. Phillips, reporter for the Black Hills Tribune, formerly of Platteville, Wisconsin, . . . reports everything in a flourishing condition in Crook City." The status of the *Black Hills Tribune* among the pioneer newspapers of the region will be noted later.

Further down in the items of "Local News" we find another statement about the difficulties under which the *Pioneer* began:

Owing to the fact that this first number has been gotten up under the greatest obstacles and difficulties, there are many important things neglected which we intended to notice. Our material is in four different places, our press in a tent, and everything at a disadvantage. Many of our friends have been neglected, but don't blame us, we will try and do justice to all in time.

Finally, it is no doubt Laughlin, the senior partner, who speaks in the following:

On our arrival in Custer City, we were very badly afflicted with inflammatory rheumatism, contracted by an unusual amount of exposure on the road. We were so bad, in fact, that for ten days we had to be lifted into and out of the wagon at camping places, and at present, even, we can move around only with great pain.

Among those to whom Laughlin extends thanks for endeavoring to contribute to his relief and comfort on his arrival at Custer City, is "Dr. Bedell," who can be identified by other references with our old friend, Dr. L. L. Bedell, at one time owner and editor of the *Cheyenne Argus*.

In the *Cheyenne Leader* of July 23, 1876, we read that Col. C. V. Gardner,²⁹ editor of the *Black Hills Pioneer*, had arrived in

²⁹ The *Leader* of March 30, 1876, mentions that "C. V. Gardner, Esq., of the Atchinson, Kans., *Champion*, . . . leaves for the Black Hills to write up that Eldorado."

Cheyenne on the Cheyenne and Black Hills stage. It might be inferred from this that Laughlin's disability was such as to leave the *Pioneer* short-handed. On August 4th the *Leader* reported that "Judge H. N. Maguire,³⁰ a veteran western journalist, is now connected with the Black Hills *Pioneer*."

In the *Leader* of August 17, 1876, is found an interesting description of the *Pioneer* office in Deadwood:

Early upon the morning subsequent to my arrival in Deadwood, I paid a visit to Mr. A. W. Merrick, the enterprising founder of the *Black Hills Pioneer*. I found him up to his elbows in work in a two-story building, back from the street, on a side hill. The *Pioneer* office lies sandwich fashion between two houses of peculiar traffic—a layer of virtue to two of vice. The rule is the same the world over. Merrick, the genial, showed me over the town, told me all the news, described the resources, and showed me many kindnesses for which I have to thank him. His paper is written, set up and printed, all in one room. The paper is worked off on what in printer's phraseology is known as a half-medium Gordon press. The bed of the press is exactly the size of one page of the *Pioneer*, which makes it necessary to make four impressions for every paper issued—and yet, with all the drawbacks incident to a frontier publisher's life, the paper is spicy, prompt in the publication of news, and "chuck full of business," as the saying goes.

But the *Pioneer* had other difficulties than those of limited press capacity. Paper supply in the remote Black Hills was a real problem. Thus we read in the *Cheyenne Leader* of September 14, 1876, that the issues of the *Pioneer* were being printed on "a dingy colored wrapping paper."

The *Leader* of October 25th tells us that C. V. Gardner is no longer editor of the Deadwood *Pioneer*, and the same paper on October 29th reported that "Dr. C. W. Myer, late of the Cheyenne *Sun*, is the new editor of the Black Hills *Pioneer*."

For several months after this we lose sight of the *Black Hills Pioneer* in the columns of the Cheyenne newspapers. By January, 1877, the Black Hills region was connected with Cheyenne by telegraph; the *Daily Sun* of January 18, 1877, mentioned its arrangements to get Black Hills dispatches over the newly com-

³⁰ H. N. Maguire was editor of the *Pioche* [Nevada] *Daily Record* in 1873. (See my *Bibliography of Nevada Newspapers, 1858 to 1875*, in: *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, Mainz, 1935, p. 303).

pleted telegraph line. And the population of the Black Hills was estimated at 6,500, according to the *Sun* of February 1st. Then, on February 28th, the *Sun* reported a visit from A. W. Merrick, who is designated as the "proprietor of the Black Hills *Pioneer*." Merrick, says the *Sun*,

is . . . full to running over with the conviction that the Black Hills country is the richest portion of this globe out of doors and doesn't care who knows it. . . . He has left his paper to get additional material with a view to publishing a daily and enlarging his weekly. Thus far there has been no big money in the newspaper business, and the prospects are, the field will be covered for all it is worth, as the owner of the *Custer Herald* is now at Deadwood looking up a location, and a Denver man is getting ready to take an office to the Hills.

Merrick's departure for Chicago on March 22nd is noted in the *Daily Sun* of that date, and on April 12th the *Sun* quoted from the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* an item reporting that Merrick had left that city with "a large quantity of material . . . such as presses, type, etc., with which he intends refitting the *Pioneer* office." There must have been delays in the transportation of this material and in its installation in the *Pioneer* office, for it is not until June 21, 1877, that we can read, in the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* of that date, that "The Deadwood *Pioneer* appeared on Sunday [June 17th] for the first time as a daily." The *Cheyenne Leader* of June 22nd reported that the new daily "is a handsome 6-column sheet, the largest paper published in the Black Hills, and being well edited will undoubtedly become the favorite and best patronized journal in the Eldorado."

It will have been noticed that in the foregoing references to the *Black Hills Pioneer* there has been no mention of W. A. Laughlin, once the senior partner in the firm which founded the paper. Physical infirmity evidently compelled him to retire from any active participation in the work of publication. And in the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* of Thursday, July 19, 1877, we find the sad news that "W. A. Laughlin, who was one of the founders of the Black Hills *Pioneer*, died at Black Hawk last Tuesday."

It is a pleasure to record that the *Black Hills Pioneer* survived all the vicissitudes of its infancy and youth and still exists. In May, 1897, the *Pioneer* was merged with the *Deadwood Times* (established in 1877), and the daily and weekly *Pioneer-Times* is still being published at Deadwood.

The Black Hills Tribune

The distinction of being the first newspaper in the Black Hills is accorded to the *Black Hills Pioneer*. But it achieved that distinction by the narrow margin of one day only. For on the day following the date of the first issue of the *Pioneer* the first issue of the *Black Hills Tribune* made its appearance at Crook City.

The history of the *Black Hills Tribune* is exceedingly vague and sketchy. Our first news of it is in the *Cheyenne Leader* of June 22, 1876:

The *Black Hills Tribune* is published at Crook City and made its first appearance June 9th. Messrs. X. S. Burke & Co. are editors and proprietors. The paper is 16 column folio and makes up in ability what it lacks in size.

We have already noted that the *Pioneer*, in its first issue, mentioned "J. S. Phillips, reporter for the *Black Hills Tribune*." This makes it clear that Laughlin and Merrick knew that a rival paper was in the field, though the reference to its reporter may be interpreted as indicating the presence of a news-gatherer for a paper which had not yet begun publication. And we have also noted, also in the first issue of the *Pioneer*, the quotation from the *Denver Tribune*, to the effect that the first number of the *Pioneer* would be "dated earlier than that of any rival sheet." By themselves, these two bits of evidence are not enough to support an imputation that Laughlin and Merrick may have "fudged" a bit in the date of their first issue, but they suggest the need for a little more investigation of the beginnings of the *Pioneer* and the *Tribune*.

In a reminiscent article in its issue of March 17, 1884, the *Black Hills Pioneer* says:

On the 8th day of June, 1876, the first number of the Black Hills *Pioneer* appeared—a half-sheet 5-column publication. No little dispute has occurred relative to the priority of appearance of the paper over the *Tribune*, a paper published (once only) by X. S. Burk, at Crook City, but reference to the papers themselves determines the question beyond all cavil. The *Pioneer* was first published on the 8th and the *Tribune* on the 10th [*sic*] following, thus sustaining our claim of publishing the first newspaper in the Black Hills.

Aside from the question of dates (we have noted that the *Cheyenne Leader* said the *Tribune* first appeared on June 9th), the statement that the *Tribune* appeared “once only” seems to be open to question, since a reference to the *Tribune* as apparently a still going concern is to be found in the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* of September 11, 1877:

The Crook City *Tribune* has passed into the hands of Messrs. Wm. R. Snider and John Stone, who announce that the name of the paper will be changed to the Black Hills *Miner*, and that the mechanical and typographical work will be improved.

For many months before this transfer, Crook City had been rapidly dwindling.³¹ So it is not surprising to read in the *Cheyenne Leader* of October 23, 1877: “The Crook City *Miner* is to be removed to Deadwood.” At Deadwood, the *Leader* goes on to say, the *Miner* “will be daily and Democratic, with H. J. Norton and W. D. Knight as editors.” And the *Laramie Daily Sentinel* of October 23rd reported even more fully about this move:

The Black Hills *Times* says the opposition party—that portion of the Democracy opposed to the People’s Party—has secured an “organ” in the Crook City *Miner*, which is to be removed to Deadwood at once, and published as a straight up and down daily Muldoon sheet. W. D. Knight and Harry Norton will be charge

³¹ Crook City in September, 1876, was “a rough-and-tumble place, situated at the opening of a wooded ravine, on the Whitewood. It consists of about 250 houses, all frame or log—the latter style of architecture predominating. . . . There is an appearance of depression about the settlement which showed a lack of prosperity, and some of the houses appeared untenanted. The mining gulches were either deserted or worked in a slow, unsatisfactory manner. . . . Crook City was on the wane.”—John F. Finerty. *War Path and Bivouac*, quoted in *Black Hills Engineer*, vol. 18, no. 1, Rapid City, January 1930, pp. 28-29 (with a view of Crook City in 1876 on p. 31). Finerty was a newspaper correspondent who accompanied Gen. George Crook on a military expedition into the Black Hills in September, 1876.

d'affairs and promise a red hot paper. Harry Norton is a noted rustler from Nevada.³²

And the *Sentinel* of October 24th reported that the first number of the new Deadwood organ appeared Sunday, October 21st.

In the *Cheyenne Leader* of November 27, 1877, we read that "The Deadwood *Miner* has suspended publication until a supply of paper arrives." As no further mention of the *Miner* is to be found in the columns of its Wyoming contemporaries, I am inclined to believe that this suspension was permanent.

Incidentally, it might be noted that shortage of paper was not uncommon in the beginning days of Black Hills journalism. The newspaper publishers there had to use whatever paper could be procured. So the *Laramie Daily Sentinel* observes, on April 3, 1877: "The Black Hills *Pioneer* comes to us again printed on tinted paper. The color is a shade between the Aurora Borealis and a new \$13.00 saddle." And the *Cheyenne Leader* of October 24th reported that "All the Black Hills papers are now printed on brown paper, which is what they call 'El Dorado style.'"

The Custer City Herald

Laughlin and Merrick, we have seen, had intended to begin their *Black Hills Pioneer* at Custer City, but had joined the rush to Deadwood Gulch instead. But Custer City eventually got its own newspaper, in spite of the fact that the place had greatly diminished in importance since the discoveries of gold in the Deadwood region. In the examination of the Wyoming newspapers the earliest record of the Custer City paper was found in the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* of January 26, 1877, in which its Custer City correspondent reported: "The *Herald*, a new journalistic candidate for public favor, established at Custer, is prospering, and bids fair to meet with the rewards due its enterprising proprietors." Two

³² Harry J. Norton was associate editor of the *Lyon County Times* at Silver City, Nevada, in 1875 (see my *Bibliography of Nevada Newspapers, 1858 to 1875*, in: *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, Mainz, 1935, p. 305). In the *Cheyenne Leader* of June 17, 1877, he was mentioned as going to the Black Hills as special correspondent of the *Virginia City, Nevada, Territorial Enterprise*.



days later, on January 28th, the *Sun* tells us that "The proprietor of the Custer City *Herald*, Mr. A. R. Kennedy, . . . is a live, energetic man. . . . We feel satisfied that he will make a success of the *Herald*."

After just a short time in Custer City, the *Herald*, too, wished to move to Deadwood. The circumstances attending this removal seem to be worth recording as a somewhat unusual case of interference with the freedom of the press to go where it pleased. In the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* of March 13, 1877, we read:

The Sioux City, Iowa, *Journal*, alluding to the trouble between the citizens of Custer City and the Black Hills *Herald* proprietor, says: They have had a newspaper in the town for some time past, but the proprietor, James Bartholomew, a few days since, boxed his printing material and machinery and loaded it upon wagons with the intention of removing to Gayville,³³ where he intended to commence the publication of a daily paper. The aforesaid citizens of Custer deliberated among themselves and arrived at the conclusion that Custer couldn't well spare its printing office; that it was needed to advertise the town and mining and other interests there, and so they resolved themselves into a mob and surrounded Bartholomew's wagons, took possession of his property, and prevented his intended removal. Bartholomew telegraphed to the Governor of Dakota to take action in his behalf.

More of this episode was reported in the *Sun* of March 15th:

Custer *Herald* on Wheels. We recently published an account of the proposed removal of the Custer *Herald* to Gayville, and of its seizure. From our returned citizen, S. H. Wood, we learn that the office was packed on wagons and had got out of the city, when it was overhauled by an officer and stopped, the grounds for this action being an indebtedness upon the material, secured by mortgage. The proprietor, Mr. Bartholomew, telegraphed to the Governor of Dakota, whose answer was as follows: "The law protects you. Take your property, and if interfered with, go to Red Canyon and get troops, and then take it." This was on the 6th inst., and when Mr. Wood left Custer, Bartholomew was en route to Red Canyon. We await the result with some interest.

The *Sun's* interest did not last long enough for it to report the outcome of Bartholomew's quest for aid from the army. We know, however, that the *Herald* did not leave Custer City at that

³³ A mining camp on Deadwood Creek a mile or so from the somewhat later camp named Deadwood City; not to be confused with the present Gayville in the southeast corner of South Dakota, not far from Yankton.

time. After its attempt at desertion it is mentioned two or three times in the Cheyenne papers, and finally we read in the *Cheyenne Leader* of July 27, 1877, that "Mr. Jas. S. Bartholomew, editor of the Black Hills *Herald*, has been appointed Postmaster at Custer City."

But even this distinction could not reconcile Mr. Bartholomew for long with Custer City as a place of business. The *Leader* of August 29th says: "The Black Hills *Herald*, late of Custer City, is to be removed to Central City.³⁴ The Proprietor, J. S. Bartholomew, is at the latter place arranging for publication." And the *Laramie Daily Sentinel* of August 30th reports the removal as completed.

About six weeks after the removal to Central City, the *Black Hills Herald* was issued as a daily, according to the *Sentinel* of October 15, 1877. And that is the last we know of the *Herald* and its publisher until April 7, 1878, when the *Cheyenne Leader* of that date mentions "Messrs. Bartholomew and Burch" as editors and proprietors of the recently established Lead City *Telegraph*—a paper of which more will said later.

The Black Hills Times

A daily stage coach began to run between Cheyenne and Custer City in April, 1876, and the route had been extended to reach Deadwood by September, where the first Cheyenne stage arrived on September 25th. The construction of a telegraph line from Cheyenne was begun in July of the same year, and in spite of Indian interference telegraphic communication reached Custer City in October, and the first wire message was received at Deadwood on Thanksgiving Day, November 30th. Under favorable conditions the journey to Deadwood by stage required at first about thirty-six hours; if the weather was bad, it took three days or even longer. But at that, the route from Cheyenne was the shortest and most convenient available to travelers at that time.

³⁴ Central City was another of the mushroom mining camps on Deadwood Creek, a little further up than the mouth of Blacktail Gulch.

According to the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* of February 1, 1877, the population of the Black Hills region was then estimated at about 6,500—and every person there was a trespasser on lands that in the strict interpretation of the law still belonged to the Indians. But on February 8, 1877, the Black Hills was opened to legal white settlement, and the communities already established there were free to grow.

Growing communities afford opportunities to newspapers. So we are not altogether surprised to read in the *Cheyenne Leader* of February 17, 1877, that "Deadwood is to have a daily paper published by Porter Warner, of Denver, business man and journalist." And from the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* of February 25th we learn that "Porter Warner, of the *Denver Times*, came up . . . yesterday for the purpose of arranging for telegraph matter, etc., preparatory to publishing a daily paper at Deadwood City." On April 25th the *Sun* reported: "The *Black Hills Daily Times* made its first appearance in Deadwood on Saturday, April 7th. . . . Messrs. Warner and Newhard, editors and proprietors, are experienced newspaper men." The *Sun* of April 22nd identifies Warner's partner as W. P. Newhard.

Thus was established the first daily newspaper in the Black Hills, offering formidable competition to the year-old *Black Hills Pioneer*. Both papers, however, had what it takes for survival. After a rivalry which continued for twenty years, the two were merged, on May 15, 1897, to form Deadwood's present-day *Pioneer-Times*.

Not long after the beginning of the daily *Times* a weekly edition was added.³⁵ The *Cheyennne Leader* of July 22, 1877, referred to Porter Warner as "editor and proprietor of the Black Hills daily and weekly *Times*."

³⁵ The *Union List of Newspapers*, 1937, gives April 5, 1877, as the date of beginning of the weekly *Black Hills Times* and May 10th as the date on which the daily began. We have seen that the daily began on April 7th; possibly May 10th approximates the beginning of the weekly.

The Black Hills Champion

Our first intimation of still another newspaper to enter the Deadwood field is in the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* of May 16, 1877, which quotes the *Black Hills Herald* (still of Custer City) as saying that "Mr. Charles Collins, the editor whose entire printing establishment was lost by the burning of the steamer Carroll,³⁶ . . . will not give up the idea of a daily paper at Gayville." After replacing the lost equipment, Collins finally established his paper, not at Gayville, which by that time was a dwindling camp, but at Deadwood. The first issue of the *Black Hills Champion*, published by Collins, appeared there on June 2, 1877,³⁷ and for about three months thereafter the little town of Deadwood had three daily newspapers.

The *Laramie Daily Sentinel* of August 6, 1877, reported the lease of the *Champion* establishment to Messrs. Scott & Co., and from the *Sentinel* of August 10th we learn that this company added Dan Scott and Jack Stone to the *Champion's* personnel. A few weeks later the *Sentinel* of September 3rd tells us: "The *Deadwood Champion*, born on the 2nd of June last, died August 26th. The office has gone to Central City, where a weekly will be issued."

The revival of the *Champion* at Central City is recorded in the *Sentinel* of October 6, 1877: "The *Black Hills Champion* made its appearance again last Saturday [i.e., September 29th]." And we get a final glimpse of the *Champion* in the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* of October 16th:

³⁶ "In the latter part of '75, Charley Collins and Dan Scott had shipped a newspaper plant from Sioux City by steamboat, intending to freight it from the Missouri River by team, but the boat burned and press and type were lost."—R. B. Hughes. *Black Hills Early Day Newspapers*, in: *Black Hills Engineer*, vol. 12, no. 4, Rapid City, Nov. 1924, pp. 256-259, at p. 256. The *Cheyenne Leader* of April 21, 1875, contained a quite uncomplimentary sketch of Charles Collins, "editor of the *Sioux City Times*."

³⁷ This date is confirmed by the numbering of the only issue of the *Champion* which is known to have survived—that of Friday, June 29, 1877, vol. 1, no. 24, in the Chicago Historical Society's newspaper collection.

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper contains a picture of Collins' *Champion* office at Central City. It is a low wooden structure, with slab sides and a slab roof. Charley, himself, stands at the door trying to induce an Indian to subscribe for the paper and promising to have two or three columns a day set up in the Sioux jargon. The Indian evidently can't see it, as he wraps his blanket about him and makes no sign of reaching for his pocketbook. We judge that the *Champion* liar of the Hills is about played out.

The Black Hills Journal

The *Cheyenne Daily Sun* of November 27, 1877, reported as follows: "Gossage, of the Sidney [Nebraska] *Telegraph*, purchased a newspaper press from us yesterday. He is making arrangements to start a paper in the Black Hills at Rapid City." And in its issue of December 29th the *Sun* again mentioned the new enterprise: "Messrs. Gossage and Darrow expect to issue the first number of the *Black Hills Journal* at Rapid City during the coming week."

The first issue of Rapid City's first newspaper was dated Saturday, January 5, 1878.³⁸ We find more information about it in the *Cheyenne Sun* of January 9th:

We are in receipt of the first number of the *Black Hills Journal*, published at Rapid City in the Hills, by Geo. D. Darrow and Jos. B. Gossage, under the firm name of G. D. Darrow & Co., editors and proprietors. It is the official paper of Pennington County, and presents a remarkably neat appearance.

After conducting the paper for forty-seven years, Joseph B. Gossage in 1925 disposed of the *Black Hills Journal* to a newspaper syndicate. Now entering upon its sixty-fifth year, the *Journal* at Rapid City is the leading newspaper in the western part of South Dakota.

The Lead City Sunday Register

Lead City (please pronounce the name like "Leed") was an early rival of Deadwood, only a few miles away. Here the first

³⁸ There is a reduced reproduction of the first page of this initial issue of the *Black Hills Journal* in the *Black Hills Engineer*, vol. 12, no. 4, November 1924, at p. 255.

newspaper appeared early in January, 1878. The *Cheyenne Daily Sun* of January 17th thus welcomed the newcomer: "We are in receipt of the initial number of the *Sunday Register*, a nice weekly published at Lead City in the Black Hills by Dan Scott. We wish the proprietor success."

The name of Dan Scott suggests that this venture at Lead City may have been a continuation or successor in some way of the *Black Hills Champion*, with which Scott was connected when that paper was still at Deadwood in August, 1877. But since no other reference to the *Sunday Register* has yet been found, we conclude that the first Lead City newspaper was not a success and that its first issue may well have been its last.

The Black Hills News-Letter

A Deadwood newspaper of which practically nothing is known except its name is mentioned in the *Cheyenne Leader* of February 8, 1878: "Mr. Harry J. Norton, editor of the *Black Hills News-Letter*, arrived here from Deadwood by coach yesterday." We recall Mr. Norton, the "noted rustler from Nevada," in connection with the *Black Hills Miner*, which was removed from Crook City to Deadwood for political reasons in October, 1877, and which suspended publication about a month later.

Another glimpse of the *News-Letter* is had in the *Leader* of August 3, 1878, which tells us that "Mr. W. A. Hendrickson, Esq., of the *Black Hills News-Letter*, is now in this city." A change of title is intimated in the last reference to this paper which has been found; the *Leader* of November 6, 1878, reported that "H. J. Norton, editor and proprietor of the *Black Hills News-Letter and Mining Reporter*, arrived from the east yesterday."

The Mining and Real Estate Journal

The following announcement is found in the *Cheyenne Leader* of March 5, 1878:

Capt. C. V. Gardner, well and favorably known here, will issue the first number of the *Mining and Real Estate Journal* at Deadwood after the 15th. The Captain has resided in the Black Hills for the past two years and was for a while one of the proprietors of the Black Hills *Pioneer*.

The *Cheyenne Daily Sun* of the same date contains a similar announcement, not giving the title of the promised publication but stating that it is to be "a monthly journal devoted to the mining and real estate interests of the Black Hills."

No other reference to this proposed monthly has been found as yet, and it seems likely that Captain Gardner did not succeed in getting it started.

The Lead City Telegraph

A second newspaper venture at Lead City is somewhat better known than the short-lived *Sunday Register* at that place. The *Cheyenne Leader* of April 7, 1878, thus reported it: "The first number of the Lead City *Telegraph* has appeared on our table. Messrs. Bartholomew and Burch are the editors and proprietors."

We recall the name Bartholomew as that of the printer who finally succeeded in making his escape from Custer City, to replant his *Black Hills Herald* at Central City in the Deadwood region. The *Telegraph* at Lead City seems to have been an offshoot of the Central City *Herald*, for after two months we find their names hyphenated in an item in the *Leader* of June 5th "We are in receipt of late copies of the *Telegraph-Herald*, published at Central and Lead Cities, Dakota. Mr. J. D. Vaughn, formerly foreman of the *Leader* composing rooms, is city editor."

Two weeks later we see in the *Leader* of June 19th that "The Deadwood *Times* says that J. D. Vaughn, formerly foreman of the *Leader* composing rooms, has left the *Telegraph-Herald* and accepted the city editorship of the *Pioneer*." But the *Telegraph* part of the title is omitted when the *Leader* again mentions its former foreman in its issue of October 24th: "J. D. Vaughn . . . is again employed on the Black Hills *Herald*."

No further mention of the *Telegraph* is found in the Wyoming newspapers, but the *Herald* part of the combination seems to have continued for some years more. At least, the name of James S. Bartholomew has been noted as late as 1881 in connection with a Deadwood paper entitled the *Black Hills Herald-Press*.

The Western Enterprise

Pioneer newspapers in the Black Hills were promoted, as we have seen, by printer publishers from Denver, from Sidney, and even from Sioux City. But the newspaper publishers of Wyoming, though they closely watched developments in the Black Hills, seem to have been wary of moving into the new field while it was still in a formative state. Not until 1878 did a Cheyenne group—the publishers of the *Daily Evening Gazette*—decide to go to “the Hills.”

The *Gazette* was begun at Cheyenne on May 4, 1877, as a sort of reincarnation of the earlier *Laramie Chronicle*. Not quite a year later the *Cheyenne Leader*, on April 3, 1878, reported the rumor “that the *Cheyenne Gazette* is to be removed to Deadwood.” The rumor was well founded; the *Gazette* ceased publication at Cheyenne on May 7th, and in the *Leader* of May 10th we read that “T. J. Webster, M. F. Jones, and C. P. Walton started for Lead City, D. T., yesterday with the material of the *Gazette*.” A few days later we see in the *Leader* of May 15th that J. C. Horton, who had been editor of the *Gazette*, was also leaving for the Black Hills.

Edwin A. Slack, whom we last noted as founder of the *Laramie Daily Independent* in December, 1871, was also interested in the new Black Hills venture. His *Independent* had become the *Laramie Sun* in March, 1875, and had been removed to Cheyenne as the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* in March, 1876. Early in 1878, as we learn from some news items in the *Cheyenne Leader*, he had personally explored the Deadwood field, but (according to insinuations in

the *Leader*) had decided that it would be better for him to make no public appearance as the publisher of a newspaper there.³⁹ He therefore arranged to become a silent partner in the moving of the *Gazette* to the Black Hills and sent A. R. Johnson, editor of the *Sun*, to look after his interests there.

The *Cheyenne Leader* of May 17, 1878, took pleasure in exposing this arrangement. The *Leader* tells us that

On Monday morning [May 20th] Mr. A. R. Johnson of the *Sun-Gazette* will leave for Lead City, Dakota, to take general management of the newspaper enterprise entered into between himself, E. A. Slack and T. J. Webster some days since. Mr. Johnson intended to go along with Mr. Webster and the printing material but was delayed on account of the failure to secure a local man to take his place on the Cheyenne branch of the establishment [*i.e.*, the *Sun*].

The coming of this new newspaper was not welcomed at Deadwood. The *Leader* of May 18, 1878, reports:

This is what the Deadwood *Times* says about Slack's newspaper enterprise: "The ghost of the defunct Cheyenne *Gazette* is now enroute for Lead City. But in view of the fact that the good die young we predict that the town won't be haunted very long. That journalistic gènius, Editor Horton, will preside over the local department of the coming apparition." [And on May 28th the *Leader* again quoted the Deadwood *Times*.] The new daily paper, the material for which is stuck in the mud between the Hills and Cheyenne, is to be issued from Deadwood instead of Lead City. . . . It will be a morning paper, Democratic in politics. . . . The senior proprietor of this new paper, E. A. Slack, is the editor of the Cheyenne *Sun*, a Republican sheet, and just how he will manage to harmonize the Republicanism of his Cheyenne paper and the Democracy of his Deadwood paper, is a poser to us. He will probably adopt the good God, good devil policy. Slack is madder than a March hare because the fact of his co-partnership in the new daily paper has become known, having been exposed by the *Leader*.

On June 18, 1878, the *Cheyenne Leader* reported that "The new Deadwood paper will appear to-morrow." And in its issue of June 21st the *Leader* acknowledged receipt of "the initial num-

³⁹ At that time there was a movement on foot to create a new territory, to be called Lincoln Territory, to include southwestern Dakota with a slice of Wyoming and Montana. Slack's opposition to the new territory "gave him a black eye at Deadwood," according to the *Cheyenne Leader* of March 21, 1878.

ber of the *Western Enterprise*, just published at Deadwood." The *Leader* adds that "It is a daily sheet—the *Cheyenne Gazette* warmed over, as it were."

Not much has been learned about the career of the *Western Enterprise*. The *Cheyenne Leader* rather ignored it. On August 21, 1878, the *Leader* reported that "Mr. T. J. Hammer, formerly of Cheyenne, has purchased A. R. Johnson's interest in the Deadwood *Enterprise*." On October 1st we read that

J. C. Horton, formerly of the *Cheyenne Gazette* but latterly of the Deadwood *Enterprise*, has abandoned the newspaper business and returned to this city, [and also that] George Garrett, one-third owner of the *Western Enterprise*, published at Deadwood, will leave for the Black Hills to look after his interests in that paper.

According to the *Leader* of January 19, 1879, "T. J. Webster has retired from the Deadwood *Enterprise*," and in its issue of March 27, 1879, the *Leader* informs us that "The *Western Enterprise* of Deadwood has removed from that Black Hills metropolis to Lead City, and transformed itself into an evening paper."

The history of the *Western Enterprise* at Lead City remains as yet undiscovered. There are casual allusions to it in the *Leader* as late as January, 1881, but beyond that, so far as the Cheyenne paper is concerned, the rest is silence.

Of two other Black Hills newspapers of the earliest period barely the names are known. "We are in receipt of the Black Hills *Central* published at Rochford, Dakota," says the *Cheyenne Leader* of December 18, 1878. And in the *Leader* of March 11, 1879, we read: "We acknowledge receipt of the Black Hills *Miner*, an 8-page weekly paper, published at Rockerville, Dakota, by W. D. Knight, who is both editor and proprietor. It is a neat looking journal." We recall W. D. Knight as named with H. J. Norton in connection with the *Black Hills Miner* on its removal from Crook City to Deadwood in October, 1878.

*

*

*

These notes on the early newspapers of the Black Hills make no pretence to finality. They merely record what few facts about them have been gathered in a rather careful examination of extant files of their contemporaries of Cheyenne, Wyoming. Of the Black Hills papers named herein, only the *Pioneer*, the *Black Hills Times*, and the *Black Hills Journal*, so far as I now know, are represented by fair to excellent files which are available for study.

There is a clear call here for further research by some student of history, journalism, or library science. A careful page-by-page examination of the extant files of the Black Hills papers, following the procedure which has yielded an almost complete record of the early Wyoming press, will undoubtedly bring to light additional facts with reference to the personnel and other details in the history of those papers, as well as greatly desired facts as to the birth, death, personnel, and so on, of their Black Hills contemporaries of which no copies are known to have survived. And if this search should be extended to the examination of files of contemporary papers in other parts of South Dakota, in Colorado, in Nebraska, and elsewhere, the total result would be a most valuable contribution to an extremely interesting chapter in South Dakota history.

I desire to express to Mrs. Gladys F. Riley, state librarian of Wyoming and *ex officio* state historian, my cordial appreciation of her ready co-operation in answering numerous queries and in supplying transcripts of articles in early Wyoming newspapers preserved in the collection under her care. I am also grateful to my research associate, Mr. Albert H. Allen, for his competent work in checking and amplifying the details of the record here presented of pioneer printing in the Black Hills of South Dakota.

A NOTE ON ZEDLER'S COSTER THEORY

By CURT F. BÜHLER

IN the past four centuries so much has been written about Lourens Coster and the question of his contribution to the invention or development of printing that the present writer would be extremely reluctant to add his opinion to this vexed question were it not for the fact that the beliefs of the most recent and most learned supporter of Coster's claims do not seem to have been analyzed in the light of his own discoveries. There is a rather important point which can (and should) be raised in connection with Gottfried Zedler's *Von Coster zu Gutenberg*, Leipzig, 1921, and his *Der älteste Buchdruck und das frühholändische Doktrinale des Alexander de Villa Dei*, Leiden, 1936, the two most important analytical works in which Coster is set forth as the inventor of printing. The question as to whether it was Gutenberg or Coster who discovered printing has been raised over and over again. The present writer has no wish to re-open the question or to take a position either one way or the other, but the contradictions that may be found in Zedler's own works make it seem worth while to examine this reconstruction.

Zedler's earlier book is divided into two parts: in the first he deals exhaustively with the earliest books and fragments obviously produced in the Netherlands and sets forth his theory as to how and when they were printed; in the second part, he endeavors to show that the account given by Hadrianus Junius in his *Batavia*, Leiden, 1588, is substantially correct and that from this one must conclude that Coster was the printer of these works. In

short, Zedler's book is based squarely on (1) his theoretical deductions concerning these early prints and (2) Junius's account of Coster. Now it is a matter of no small consequence that if Zedler's typographical arguments are valid, Junius's account is demonstrably impossible and (vice versa) if Junius correctly relates the events that took place, Zedler's theories as to the dates of these imprints are clearly incorrect. If then Zedler's work is based squarely on two accounts which in turn contradict each other, what value can we set on Zedler's book?

The story as related by Junius is so well known that it need not here be repeated at length. Suffice it to say that, in this account, it is stated that Coster invented printing apparently in the late 1430's, that by this method he printed a *Speculum humanae salvationis*, and that, on Christmas eve 1440/41, a certain apprentice named Johannes Faustus stole Coster's type and equipment which he took to Mainz and commenced printing there, producing a *Doctrinale* with these same types. It is, of course, clear that Zedler relies entirely on Junius's story since the slightly earlier accounts of the invention of printing in Haarlem told by Jan van Zuren, Dirck Volkertszoon Coornhert, and Ludovico Guicciardini¹ do not name the inventor. Obviously there were other citizens of Haarlem equally capable of inventing the art of printing so that in order to identify Coster with this invention only Junius's story is of value. The account given by Junius of the historical details has been rather generally rejected as false by most historians and bibliographers, but since Zedler accepts it in modified

¹ The full texts of these accounts, together with a German translation, are printed in Zedler-Coster, p. 126 ff. Alfred W. Pollard (*Fine Books*, New York & London, 1912, p. 36, n. 1) says: "The first trace of the legend is in a reference to Coster as having 'brought the first print into the world in 1446' in a manuscript pedigree of the Coster family compiled about 1559." Father Bonaventura Kruitwagen (*Die Ansprüche Hollands auf die Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst in Gutenberg Festschrift*, Mainz, 1925, pp. 353-370) points out that these are not separate accounts but all of them have a common origin. For complete bibliography of the Gutenberg-Coster controversy, the reader is referred to Douglas C. McMurtrie's recent and excellent *The Invention of Printing: A Bibliography*, Chicago, 1942, especially pp. 111-156, 201-202, 209-211, etc.

form, it may be of interest to review the narrative in the light of Zedler's own discoveries.

Turning now to Zedler's typographical deductions, we learn the following. Apparently some time before the year 1440, the early printer (Coster) had fashioned two founts of type. The earlier of these, the Pontanus or Donatus type, was in use, we are told, from about 1435 to 1472 or later; the second type was the Saliceto or Doctrinale type, which the early printer is supposed to have used from about 1440 to 1472, or again somewhat later.

Here the discrepancy between the two accounts becomes perfectly self-evident to the reader and no satisfactory explanation for it has been offered by Zedler. If the theft of *all* of Coster's printing type and equipment (Junius leaves us in no doubt on this score as he specifically states that the thief "choragium omne typorum involat, instrumentorum herilium ei artificio comparatorum supellectilem convasat") took place in 1440/41, it is difficult to see how Coster could have continued to make use of this material till 1472. On the other hand, if the entire equipment was stolen when Junius says it was, it follows that all the books printed by Coster with this equipment must be dated prior to 1440/41, a fact that is in direct contradiction with Zedler's typographical deductions. Manifestly both these accounts cannot be true and yet Zedler's hypothesis is based equally firmly on both of them.

According to the story as told by Junius, Coster must have printed his *Speculum* before 1440/41, yet Zedler gives excellent reasons for believing that this book could not have been printed before 1470. Again, if Junius is correct, the *Singularia juris* by Ludovicus Pontanus must have been printed before 1440, if printed by Coster, since after that date the type was no longer in Coster's possession. But this is most doubtful since the Roman lawyer, Ludovicus Pontanus, died (at the youthful age of thirty) only in 1439. It seems rather unlikely that a serious legal book, such as this one is, could have been completed much before his

death, even less likely that a manuscript of the book could have reached Haarlem in somewhat less than two years, and entirely unlikely that Coster would have undertaken to print in 1440 a legal work by an obscure Italian when more suitable texts were at hand. It may be pointed out that printing had been practised for more than six years in Italy before the *Singularia juris* found itself put into type by an Italian press, where, it is reasonable to suppose, Pontanus's reputation would be the greatest. There is another book, however, which leaves no room for doubt, the edition of the *De salute corporis* by Guilelmus de Saliceto. This was printed, according to Zedler, by Coster and since it is printed in the same type as the *Doctrinale* must have been completed before the theft of that type in 1440/41, if one is to believe Junius's story. In this volume there are included several works by Aeneas Sylvius who is called "Pius Secundus Pontifex Maximus"; since Aeneas only became Pope on the death of Calixtus III on August 6th, 1458, it is certain that the book was not printed before that date. We must therefore either believe that Junius's account of the theft is entirely inaccurate or that the book was printed at Mainz by "Johann Faust." The latter theory is equally untenable since printing of so inferior a quality could scarcely have been sold at Mainz in competition with the remarkable products then issuing regularly from the press of Fust and Schoeffer and thus goes to prove that it is impossible to identify Johann Faust with either Fust or Gutenberg.

With the veracity of Junius's account (to which of course full credence must be given if Coster is to be identified with the inventor of the art) thus endangered, Zedler² endeavors to bolster the story as told by the old bookbinder Cornelis (from whom Junius obtained the facts) by saying that, though the theft took place, it was by a different man at a different time. Zedler believes that Cornelis's report is somehow connected with an entirely different event. Sometime early in the 1470's a new printer, the

² Zedler-Coster, p. 157 ff.

printer of the *Abcdarium*, makes his appearance. This printer, according to Zedler's surmise, must have learned his trade at Coster's printing office before setting up his own shop and this is the event that lies behind the theft reported by Cornelis. In that case what has happened to the theft which is one of the two main points in Junius's narrative? If we believe the printer of the *Abcdarium* stole all Coster's equipment in 1470 or earlier, how could the latter have continued for several years to print with it? If he did not steal the type, what did he steal? And if he did not steal anything at all, why was the old bookbinder so enraged with him? The small output attributable to this press would hardly have made it an active competitor of Coster's firm and so become the object of Cornelis's ire.

On the basis of Zedler's own reconstruction of the development of the earliest printing in the Netherlands and on the evidence supplied by the books themselves, it is evident that most of Junius's account is untrue. Other writers, notably Father Kruitwagen,³ have shown that Junius has elsewhere misrepresented and distorted historical facts, that the evidence of the old bookbinder Cornelis is untrustworthy, and that the story of the theft of type, a common enough literary motif, is paralleled by similar accounts in other countries. The only item left in Junius's story which has not been clearly set aside as untrue is that the printer of the early Dutch incunabula was named Lourens Coster and that he resided in Haarlem in the 1440's. In the light of the other untruths, can one really accept Junius's account without outside corroborative evidence which has never been produced? Perhaps one should echo Guicciardini's cautious note: "quel che ne sia alla verità, non posso ne voglio giudicare."

That printing was practised at a reasonably early date in the Netherlands cannot be disputed since we have the books to prove

³ Kruitwagen, *op. cit.*, p. 361. Compare also the evidence as weighed by Pollard, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-43 and by A. van der Linde, *The Haarlem Legend of the Invention of Printing by Lourens Janszoon Coster*, London, 1871.

it. At what date these were produced is, however, not clear. The chief testimony on this score seems to be Ulrich Zell's famous comment about the "prefigurations" which took place in Holland before the invention of printing in Mainz in 1440,⁴ as well as the fact that in January 1445/6 the Abbot Jean le Robert of Cambrai⁵ purchased in Bruges a *Doctrinale* "jetté en molle" (whatever that may mean). As for Zell, it is rather more than likely that his evidence is only hearsay; furthermore, he says nothing of Gutenberg's trial efforts in Strassburg.⁶ One must infer from Zell's statement that the Dutch "prefigurations" appeared before 1440, but it is somewhat unlikely that Zell could have had any first-hand acquaintance with such books before 1440.⁷ If he did not actually see the "prefigurations" before 1440, but saw them in 1450 or 1460 he may have misjudged their antiquity from the crudeness of the impression. This would leave the question of date very uncertain, since, though the "Coster" imprints might have been coeval with or even later than the early Mainz products, their crude appearance would have led an early enquirer to believe they were much older than was actually the case. The purchase of a copy of the *Doctrinale* by the worthy Abbot offers

⁴ The famous passage occurs in the *Cronica van der hilliger Stat Coellen* printed at Cologne by Johann Koelhoff in 1499. A good translation may be found in Pollard, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

⁵ Zedler-Doktrinale, pp. 1 and 30 ff.

⁶ For the latest discussion of Gutenberg's work in Strassburg as well as for the other claims to the invention of printing, see Otto W. Fuhrmann, *Gutenberg and the Strasbourg Documents of 1439*, New York, 1940.

⁷ Although we do not know the year of Zell's birth, he died in 1507 or later. Assuming that he saw the "prefigurations" in 1437 at the age of 15, he must have been born not after 1422. This would mean that he was 55 at the time he married, 44 when he commenced printing and continued at this trade till he was 72, and that he died at the age of 85. While not impossible, this seems somewhat unlikely. If Zell is the same Ulricus de Hanau who matriculated at the University of Erfurt (which is generally considered to be the case) in 1453, he must have been 31 at that time, a most unusual age to enter a university in the fifteenth century. On the other hand, if Zell is the Ulricus of the Erfurt University register and he had entered the university at the prevalent age of 16, he *could not* have had any personal knowledge of the existence of Dutch "prefigurations" before 1440. See E. Voulliéme, *Die deutschen Drucker des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1922, pp. 40-41.

no further evidence, since no one seems to know what is meant by "jetté en molle" and there is no way of identifying this book with one of Coster's editions. Even if one sees in this a reference to one of the early Dutch *Doctrinales*, which may or may not have been the case, this merely proves that the Dutch printer was a contemporary of Gutenberg's, since the earliest Gutenberg *Donatus* is considered to have been printed in 1444 and the *Weltgedicht* in 1445.

What is left of Zedler's book with which one can safely agree is a careful analysis of the earliest Dutch founts. As to the date which may be assigned to them, we are as much in the dark as ever. The weakest point in Zedler's chronological discussion is that he supposes that the early printer used the same fount of type for fully half a century even after he had cut newer and better founts. This seems somewhat counter, as far as we know, to the usual practice of the early printing-houses, and Zedler's reply to such criticism is hardly convincing.⁸

As we have seen, Zedler's effort to identify the early Dutch printer with Lourens Coster rests on evidence too scanty and questionable to be admissible and his dating of the products of this press, based in large part on the evidence submitted by Cornelis and Zell together with the reported purchase of a *Doctrinale* in 1445/6, seems inconclusive. The present writer is not aware of any other evidence, conclusive or otherwise, which would lead one to believe that the earliest printing in the Netherlands took place in the 1430's and that the printer was Lourens Coster. On the other hand, the *Gesamtkatalog's* dating of the earliest *Doctrinales* as "vor 1470?" is equally unjustifiable, in view of Zell's statement and the record of an earlier purchase of such a book. The present writer is inclined to believe that the anonymous printer undertook his experiments at or about the same time

⁸ Zedler-Doktrinale, p. 49, explains that Coster's type suffered less damage in the course of time because they were cast in sand with the use of wooden punches. The present writer is not impressed by this argument.

that Gutenberg did and that the two must be regarded as contemporary and independent ventures. The belief that two men, working independently, could make the same invention at about the same time is not beyond the bounds of credulity; indeed it is amply attested by numerous other cases in the history of invention and discovery.

BERNHARD PERGER VON STANZ

By PAULINE GRANT WAITE SKARSHAUG

BERNHARD PERGER, Austrian grammarian and teacher, was an important figure in his day. Coming at the transition period between Scholasticism and Humanism, he occupied a prominent position in the affairs of the University of Vienna, and exercised a tremendous influence upon its academic life for twenty-three years. But despite his activity as an educator and the popularity of his textbook, *Grammatica nova*, many biographical dictionaries ignore him altogether or accord him but brief mention. Jöcher gives him only four lines,¹ and Sandys passes him by, to dwell at some length upon his contemporary and fellow-grammarian, Perottus.² Material for this brief sketch of his life has been collected from hither and yon, the only sources of information being German reference books of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Perger was born in Stanz or Stans, Switzerland, during the first half of the fifteenth century. His early life must have been passed in obscurity, as we do not hear of him until 1464, when he received the degree of Master of Arts from the University of Vienna. Following this he spent several years in Italy, studying Latin grammar, Virgil, and other classical authors. In 1476 he was back in Vienna, registered as a student in the Law School. While carrying on his legal studies he occupied the position of

¹ Christian Gottlieb Jöcher. *Allgemeines Gelehrten-lexicon*, Leipzig, 1751, III, p. 1388.

² Sir John Edwin Sandys. *A History of Classical Scholarship*, Cambridge, 1908, II, p. 71.

Rector of the Academy (St. Stephansschule),³ which antedated the University by more than one hundred years. It was in many respects a preparatory school for the University, and included in its curriculum Latin, grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy. In April, 1478, Perger became Dean of the Arts faculty and three years later obtained the Licentiate in Canon Law.

Kaiser Friedrich III, who had a real love of learning, was pleased with the manifold services Perger had rendered in revising the teaching of Latin at the Academy, and appointed him Superintendent or Curator of the University in 1492,⁴ giving him ample authority to initiate reforms in education and in the mode of instruction. He aroused the resentment of the academic body, not only by his innovations but also by his control of the royal endowment. A formal protest was lodged against him, which he ignored. He gave special attention to the scholastic lectures, insisting on primary sources as opposed to secondary, and believing firmly that the actual texts of Aristotle, Euclid, Hippocrates and Galen, even in Latin translations, were preferable to the works of their commentators and glossarists. The latter, he said, contained much that was superfluous and of little value to the students.

Friedrich III died in 1493, and was interred in the Cathedral of St. Stephan. He was succeeded by his son, Maximilian I, who was now sole ruler of Germany and head of the House of Hapsburg. Perger as chancellor of the new Kaiser gave the funeral oration for Friedrich before the Vienna city council.⁵ Maximilian, who was the patron of scholars, ordered the copying of manu-

³ For a good account of St. Stephansschule, see the chapter by Anton Mayer, "Die Schulen," in Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien. *Geschichte der Stadt Wien, herausgegeben vom Alterthumsvereine zu Wien*, Wien, 1897, I, pp. 481-487.

⁴ Aschbach and *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* both use the term *Superintendent*.

⁵ *Oratio in funere Friderici III imperatoris Viennae habita*. [Rome: Stephan Plannck, after August 19, 1493] and [Vienna: Johann Winterburg, after August 19, 1493].

scripts, encouraged the development of the Universities of Ingolstadt and Freiburg, and set about reorganizing the University of Vienna. Under him, Perger retained his position as Superintendent of the University, and became even more influential than in preceding years. He introduced several innovations, after the manner of the Italian universities, even holding public lectures before the college halls on summer evenings. As the students who gathered to attend these lectures created considerable disturbance, they were discontinued at the end of the summer.

Source material gives no description of Perger's personal appearance or of his character. Without doubt he was a man of strong determination, combining initiative and foresight with executive ability. The exact date of his death, like that of his birth, is unknown. But his successor, Johann Spriesshammer (better known as Cuspinianus), became Superintendent of the University in 1501, so we must suppose that Perger died about that time ("um 1502," as the German reference books put it).

Perger's best known literary work was his grammar, of which Brunet says,

Cette grammaire latine a été fort en usage à la fin du xve siècle et au commencement du xvi^e, et il en a été fait, à cette même époque, de nombreuses édit.⁶

It was founded on the *Regulae Sipontinae*; rules of grammar deriving their name from Nicolaus Perottus, Archbishop of Siponto (1430-1486), who had written the first modern Latin grammar, printed in 1473 under the title of *Rudimenta Grammatices*. Hain records twenty editions of Perger's work before 1500, varying from forty-three leaves to one hundred and eight, and there were doubtless others which were unknown to him. This is one third of the total of Perottus's fifteenth-century editions, no discreditable comparison when we consider the Archbishop's fame and exalted position as papal legate. The *Second Census* lists four

⁶ Jacques Charles Brunet. *Manuel du Libraire et de l'Amateur de Livres*, Paris, 1863, IV, p. 498.

of the editions of Perger's *Grammar* printed in Germany between the years 1485 and 1496 — a total of five copies owned in America (Estate of Charles W. Clarke, Franklin H. Chase, Huntington, Library of Congress, Newberry). The undated quarto in the Stephen Spaulding Collection at the University of Michigan (Hain 12605*) was received after the *Census* had gone to press.⁷

Casual reading of the superscription of the preface to Perger's *Grammar* gave rise to the belief that Johann Cassis of Vienna printed the first edition.⁸ Burger assigned Hain 12604*-5* to Cassis, "Dictus librarius ex Ratispona."⁹ Michael Denis, eighteenth-century bibliographer, examined the grammar with sufficient care to note that it contained a letter written by Mattheus Moretus to Cassis.¹⁰ Moretus, who taught medicine and astronomy at Bologna, requested Cassis's opinion of Perger's textbook. Cassis's answer, amounting to a favorable recommendation, was printed as a preface to the grammar.¹¹

Why Moretus instead of Perger should be the one to seek a criticism of the manuscript does not appear.

Further study of the various editions of Perger's *Grammar* was made by Dr. Ignaz Schwarz of Vienna.¹² Reichhart had already gone part way in identifying Hain 12605*, when he assigned it "Venetiis, ante 1482."¹³ Haebler ventured farther and assigned

⁷ Bernardus Perger. *Grammatica nova*. [s.l.a. et typ.n.] 4°. 62 ff. Sig. a-b⁸, c¹⁰, A-C⁴, D-F⁸. 39 ll.

⁸ F. 1b: Iohannis cassis cuius viennensis cui p̄esens opusculū adim p̄imendum traditū est p̄efaciuncula Cum magis atq; magis animaduerto fulgens atq; perutile opusculum artis gr̄amaticae a magistro Bernardo perger . . .

⁹ Konrad Burger. *The Printers and Publishers of the xv. Century*, Berlin, 1926, p. 373.

¹⁰ F. 26a: Matheus mōetus Brixianus āt̄iuet̄medicīe doctōr mḡist̄o iohāni cassis viennensi Salutē plurimā dicit.

¹¹ Michael Denis. *Wiens Buchdruckergeschichte bis M.D.LX*, Wien, 1782, pp. 13-14.

¹² Ignaz Schwarz. *Aus der ersten Zeit des Wiener Buchdrucks*, in Eduard Langer. *Bibliographie der Österreichischen Drucke des xv. und xvi. Jahrhunderts*, Wien, 1913, pp. 132-143.

¹³ Gottfried Reichhart. *Beiträge zur Incunabelnkunde*, in: *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*. Beihefte V, 1895, p. 42.

it to the printer, Leonhard Wild, of Venice, before 1481.¹⁴ With these facts before him, Schwarz made an exhaustive examination of fifteen editions of the grammar which were in the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Munich, and tabulated his findings as follows:

1. In all the editions prior to 1488 the preface begins: "Johannis Cassis civis Viennensis." In later editions the preface begins: "Cum magis atque magis animadverto."

2. The three earliest editions lack the section, *Tractatus Proso-die et Artis Metrice*, by Wimpfeling.

Schwarz rearranged the sequence of Hain numbers according to this table:

I. With the name *Cassis* in the preface and without the *Tract*:

- H. 12605 (s.l.a. et typ.n., sed Venetiis, Leonh. Wild, ante 1481)
- H. 12608 (Pataviae, Stahel et Mayr, 1482)
- H. 12607 (Norimbergae, Fr. Creussner, ca. 1483)

II. With the name *Cassis* and with the *Tract*:

- H. 12604 (s.l.a. et typ.n., Augustae, Ant. Sorg?)
- H. 12609 (Memmingae, Alb. Kunne, 1484)
- H. 12610 (Neudruck von demselben aus demselben Jahre)
- H. 12611 = H. 7856 (Reutlingae, Joh. Otmar, 1485)
- H. 12612 (Memmingae, Alb. Kunne, 1485)
- H. 12613 = H. 7857 (s.l. et typ.n., sed Argentinae, Joh. Grüninger, 1486)
- H. 12614 (Reutlingae, Joh. Otmar, 1487)
- H. 12615 (Argentinae [M. Schott] 1488)

III. Without the name *Cassis*:

- H. 12602 (s.l.a. et typ.n., sed Hagenoae, Henr. Gran, ca. 1491)
- H. 12603 (s.l.a. et typ.n., sed Augustae, Joh. Schönsperger, ca. 1499)
- H. 12606 (s.l.a. et typ.n., sed Basileae, Joh. Amerbach, ca. 1494)
- H. 12616 (s.l. et typ.n., sed Hagenoae, Henr. Gran, 1496)
- H. 12617 (Memmingae, Alb. Kunne, 1498)
- H. 12618 (s.l. et typ.n., 1498)
- H. 12619 (Norimbergae, Hier. Hölzel, 1500)

¹⁴ Dr. Schwarz gives no bibliographical reference for Haebler's statement, but says: "Die erste Ausgabe ist zweifellos H. 12605, die schon Reichhart, Beiträge zur Inkunabelkunde S. 42 als 'Venetiis, ante 1482' erschienen bezeichnet, was mir auch von Herrn Prof. Haebler mit der Ergänzung bestätigt wird, dass der Druck höchst wahrscheinlich von Leonhard Wild in Venedig vor 1481 stammt." See his *Aus der ersten Zeit des Wiener Buchdrucks*, p. 136, footnote 1.

Principal Sources

- Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig, 1887, XXV, pp. 374-375.
- Aschbach, Joseph Ritter von. *Geschichte der Wiener Universität*, Wien, 1865-1888. 3 v.
- Denis, Michael. *Wiens Buchdruckergeschichte bis M.D.LX*, Wien, 1782, pp. 13-14.
- Hain, Ludwig Friedrich Theodor. *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, Stuttgart, 1838, II, pp. 59-62.
- Langer, Eduard. *Bibliographie der Österreichischen Drucke des xv. und xvi. Jahrhunderts*, Wien, 1913, pp. 132-143.
- Mayer, Anton. *Wiens Buchdrucker-Geschichte, 1482-1682*, Wien, 1883, I, pp. 10, 28, 160, 162.
- Stillwell, Margaret Bingham. *Incunabula in American Libraries; a Second Census of fifteenth-century Books owned in the United States, Mexico, and Canada*, New York, 1940, p. 386.
- Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien. *Geschichte der Stadt Wien, herausgegeben vom Alterthumsvereine zu Wien*, Wien, 1897, I, pp. 481-487.

AUTHORS OF PAPERS IN THIS ISSUE

EDWIN WOLF, 2ND, is Bibliographer for The Rosenbach Company, Philadelphia, and Lecturer in Bibliography at Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

WHITFIELD J. BELL, JR., is Instructor in history at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE, well-known typographer and historian of printing, conceived and for several years directed the American Imprints Inventory.

CURT F. BÜHLER is in charge of fifteenth-century books at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City.

PAULINE GRANT WAITE SKARSHAUG is Senior Service Assistant and is in charge of the University of Michigan Collection at the General Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Incunabula

BURLEY, WALTER. De vita et moribus philosophorum, in German. (Buch von dem Leben und Sitten der heydnischen Maister.) Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 'Afftermontag nach sant Felicen Tag' 1490.

The Pierpont Morgan Library acquired a copy of this book in 1942 and, in the course of cataloguing it, the writer noticed that the modern date assigned to the volume in certain bibliographies appears to be incorrect. The English equivalent of the liturgical date is "Tuesday after St. Felix's day"; *aftermontag* (earlier *aftermantac*) is characteristically Southwest Bavarian, where, of course, Augsburg is situated. The date assigned to the book in the British Museum's incunabula catalogue (II, p. 355) is "16 January or 31 August." Apparently the compilers of this catalogue determined on two of the many days devoted to numerous saints of this name, namely January 14 (St. Felix Presbyter—cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, II, p. 219 ff.) and August 30 (SS. Felix & Adauctus—cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, XL, p. 545 ff.). The *Gesamtkatalog* (No. 5793) gives only August 31, while the *Second Census* (B 1176) cites only the earlier date as set down in the British Museum catalogue. Now Calendar V in Frederick R. Goff's useful study on *The dates in certain German incunabula* (printed in the Society's PAPERS, XXXIV, 1940, pp. 17-67) shows that August 30, 1490, fell on a Monday so that the Tuesday following would indeed be the thirty-first. On the other hand, the same table shows that January 14 in that year was a Thursday, with the result that the sixteenth would be a Saturday and the Tuesday following would actually be the nineteenth. [I have of course considered the book to be dated "new style" which, as Mr. Goff correctly notes, was usual in Germany at this time; though this is most unlikely, we may note in passing that if the book is dated "old style," one must interpret the date as January 20, 1489]. I have checked Mr. Goff's table with the chronological works by Nicolas, Bond, Schram, Grotefend and Ginzel, and it seems evident that if the earlier day dedicated to St. Felix is selected, the date for the printing of this volume must be set down as January 19, 1490.

— CURT F. BÜHLER

Americana

QUESNAY DE BEAUREPAIRE, ALEXANDRE MARIE (fl. 1780). Mémoire et prospectus, concernant l'Académie des Sciences et Beaux Arts des États-Unis de l'Amérique, Établie à Richemond . . . Paris, 1788.

In his significant note on the Chevalier Quesnay de Beaurepaire's *Mémoire*, John C. Wyllie has presented a clear analysis of the four states of text in which that

unique prospectus is known.¹ It is to the *Mémoire* that one may go for many facts concerning Quesnay's colorful career as captain of the Royal Guards of Louis XVI, captain in the American Revolutionary forces and founder in 1786 of Richmond's Academy of Sciences and Fine Arts.² It was on October 29, 1788,³ that the Chevalier Quesnay, grandson of the economist François Quesnay, presented to their royal majesties at Versailles court his ambitious *Mémoire*. The octavo volume that Quesnay carried into the regal presence was elaborately bound in morocco, showing the arms of Louis XVI on the front cover.

Significantly enough, one of the copies of the *Mémoire* preserved to-day in the Library of Congress answers this description of the royal copy. The fact that the copy possessed by the Bibliothèque Nationale, executed in blue morocco, bearing the arms of Marie-Antoinette, is a later edition would indicate that Quesnay presented it to the Queen at a later time and not on this occasion.⁴

At a later date other members of the royal family were favored recipients of Quesnay's *Mémoire*. Elaborate copies went not only to the Queen, but also to the Comte de Provence, brother of the King, and to his wife, Marie-Joséphine.⁵ No copy has come to light thus far to show that the Comte d'Artois, the other brother of Louis XVI, was honored as a royal patron of the Richmond Academy.

All four states of Quesnay's *Mémoire* found their way to this country. Some of the earlier states we may suspect arrived during the latter part of 1788. Before March, 1789, the Chevalier dispatched to George Buchanan, in Baltimore, a copy which he wished delivered to Benjamin Franklin.⁶ Not until after July 8, 1789, did the mounting crisis of the French Revolution force Quesnay to abandon attempts to popularize his Richmond Academy project through distribution of the *Mémoire*. Even long after that time, other copies, belated messengers of Quesnay's ill-starred project, could very well have found their way to America.

Although it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of copies of the *Mémoire* sent to libraries and private individuals, the distribution was hardly extensive.

¹ See John C. Wyllie's note in the PAPERS, First Quarter, 1941, XXXV, pp. 73-74.

² For recent light on Quesnay's activities in America and in France during the French Revolution, see J. G. Roberts. *François Quesnay's Heir*, in: *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, April, 1942, pp. 143-150.

³ See *Gazette de France*, 31 octobre 1788.

⁴ For an opposite viewpoint, see Margaret Meagher. *History of Education in Richmond*, Richmond, 1939, p. 34. A description of Marie-Antoinette's copy is given in the *Catalogue Général des Livres Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, CXLIV, col. 527. The third and fourth states of Quesnay's *Mémoire* were printed after the Chevalier's reception at Versailles. In the fourth state the phrase "présenté au Roi" has made way for a more appropriate wording, grammatically revised: "Présentés à Leurs Majestés et à la famille royale."

⁵ The copy bearing the arms of the Comte de Provence, the future Louis XVIII, is housed in the royal library of Louis XVI at the Bibliothèque Municipale de Versailles. Queen Marie-Joséphine's copy, showing her arms on a green morocco cover, is preserved to-day at The John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.

⁶ See J. G. Roberts. *An Exchange of Letters between Jefferson and Quesnay de Beaupaire*, in: *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, April, 1942, p. 135.

The following survey shows twenty-two extant copies to-day in their four states of text:

First state: British Museum, Library of Congress, Massachusetts Historical Society, New York Public Library.

Second state: Library of Congress, Maryland Historical Society, Virginia House Collection (Richmond).

Third state: Bibliothèque Nationale (three copies), Bibliothèque Municipale de Versailles, The John Carter Brown Library, University of Pennsylvania Library, Virginia State Library.⁷

Fourth state: Bibliothèque Nationale (three copies), Boston Public Library, Cornell University Library,⁸ Peabody Institute (Baltimore), University of Virginia Library, Yale University Library.

Because of its unique interest and value, Quesnay's *Mémoire* is an item well worth the attention of the student of eighteenth-century Franco-American relations.

— JOHN G. ROBERTS

United Christian Friends. Hymns | for the use of | the | Society | of |
United Christian Friends: | with their | Constitution | Annexed. | *New-*
York: | Printed by J. Tiebout, 358, Pearl-Street, | And sold by E. Mitch-
ell, No. 9, Maiden-Lane. | 1797. |

vii, [1], 10-144 pp. 12mo. NN.

"Constitution of the Society of United | Christian Friends. | Established at New-
York, May, 1796. |" pp. [133]-140. Signed: Abraham E. Brouwer, President.
Jacob Clinch, Clerk.

Evans 32949. Sabin 97868 (Title from Evans).

Evans gives a brief title only, without the printer's name, and without collation, or location of copies, the title probably being taken from an advertisement. A short account of the society, more commonly known as the First Universalist Church, will be found in Jonathan Greenleaf's *A History of the Churches . . . in the City of New York . . . Second Edition*, New York, 1850, pp. [344]-347. Stokes's *Iconography of Manhattan Island* mentions the erection of their first church on Vandewater Street in 1796, not long after the formation of the society.

— L. M. STARK

Sketch | of | An Indian Irruption | into the town of | Shawangunk, | in
the year | 1780. n.p., n.d.

[2], [7]-35 pp., 8°. Copy in New York State Library.

Queries: Who wrote it, when and where was it printed and were there other preliminary pages? Does this interesting Ulster County, New York, narrative appear in any bibliography and are there other known copies?

⁷ Concerning the Virginia State Library copy, see Herbert B. Adams. *Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia* (U. S. Bureau of Education), 1888, p. 29 note. The *Richmond News Leader*, January 11, 1924, reported another copy of the *Mémoire*, first state, in the possession of Mr. J. H. Whitty of Richmond.

⁸ See Adams, *loc. cit.*

One of the actors of the drama had "already lived beyond two score years and ten" at the time of the foray in 1780 and was still living and "now in his 94th year" when the pamphlet was published. This would indicate that it was published about 1823.

Abraham G. Bevier told the same story from another source and in briefer form in his: *The Indians* . . . Rondout, 1846, pp. 38-42. He begins his account with the statement: "The writer is well aware that a detailed account of this massacre, and all the circumstances connected with it, has long since been published, though he has never been able to procure a copy of it." If it was so rare in 1846 it is not surprising that so little is known of it to-day.

— R. W. G. VAIL

Modern Literature

HOUSMAN, A. E. (1859-1936). *The Oracles*.

Since submitting my "Addenda to: A. E. Housman, An Annotated Check-List" to *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* [of England]—which the Editor writes me is soon to appear—I have discovered two additional items.

(1) "The Oracles," *The Reader Magazine*, New York, Vol. 3, No. 2, January, 1904. On p. 25 of his *Housman: 1897-1936*, Oxford University Press, 1941, Grant Richards quotes a letter from Mitchell Kennerley: "In November 1902 I started a literary magazine called *The Reader Magazine*. [Witter] Bynner was corresponding with Housman and brought me a poem Housman had sent him for *McClure's* which they could not use. I bought the poem from Bynner and printed it. I have no file of the magazine available at the moment [24 February 1939]." Mr. Walter Pilkington, editor of *American Notes & Queries*, found a file of the magazine, and the poem turns out to be "The Oracles." It is word-for-word the same as in *The Collected Poems*, Cape, 1939, where it appears as *Last Poems* XXV, except that the *Reader* version is set entirely in Roman and the book version has the last stanza in italics. Introductory notes in that issue of the *Reader* call it the "first original one [of A. E. H.'s poems] ever published in a magazine in America." This, however, was not the first printing, for "The Oracles" was first published in *The Venture, An Annual of Art and Literature*, edited by Laurence Housman and W. Somerset Maugham (London: At John Baillie's, 1903), p. 39. (See John Carter and John Sparrow's *A. E. Housman, An Annotated Check-List* in *The Library*, n. s. Vol. 21, p. 175, September, 1940.)

(2) In an unsigned article entitled "Memorabilia," *Notes and Queries*, London, Vol. 154, p. 289, 28 April 1928. Here is reprinted a letter from Messrs. Goodspeed's *Catalogue of Autographs*, No. 174, in which Housman writes to a would-be poet: "Do not read books about versification: no poet ever learnt it that way. If you are going to be a poet, it will come to you naturally and you will pick up all you need from reading poetry."

— WILLIAM WHITE

REVIEWS

DOWNES, ROBERT B. *Union Catalogs in the United States Edited by Robert B. Downs . . . Sponsored by: The American Library Association, Board on Resources. Contributors: Arthur B. Berthold, LeRoy C. Merritt, George A. Schwegmann, [Jr.], John P. Stone.* Published by: The American Library Association, Chicago, Illinois, 1942. xxii, 409, [1] pp. Front., tables, figures, maps. 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. \$5.00.

Doubtless there exist bibliographers, as well as librarians and research workers, who have not yet become aware of the union catalogue as a relatively new and wonderfully valuable tool being forged on their behalf; these innocents, no less than their more enlightened colleagues, should welcome this biography of a development which, though still in its infancy, bids fair to bring about a minor revolution in methods of scholastic research.

A union catalogue is, obviously, a catalogue uniting copies of the catalogues of two or more libraries for the primary purpose of showing in what library or libraries, if any, a given book may be found. The selection of libraries is usually made on a subject or a regional basis. Aside from the so-called National Union Catalog assembled in the Library of Congress (which is as yet far from national in the extent of its coverage), the trend seems definitely toward the regional catalogue, as indeed it should be, at least in these early days of the unionization of library resources.

Already, the use of union catalogues transcends their primary purpose of indicating the locations of books, and so "Bibliographical Centers" are being developed in connection with the catalogues, to correspond with this accessory use of them. The Centers, incidentally, would seem to have received sufficient consideration in the present work to merit reference to them in the title.

This analytical account of union catalogues in the United States is a co-operative effort divided into five parts, titled as follows: 1. The Administrative, Fiscal, and Quantitative Aspects of the Regional Union Catalog; 2. Regional Union Catalogs: A Study of Services Actual and Potential; 3. The National Union Catalog in the Library of Congress; 4. Manual of Union Catalog Administration; 5. Directory of Union Catalogs in the United States.

It may be said at once that, despite the fact that almost every page of the text suggests to the eye a statistician's lullaby, the editor and his authors

have succeeded somehow in producing a singularly fascinating study. No possible question with regard to the growth, present status, and probable future of union catalogues seems to have been overlooked. The four authors have achieved an astonishingly uniform literary style that is undistinguished (careless usage, such as that of "secure" for "obtain," is distressingly prominent), but straight-forward and, under the circumstances, effective.

The virtues of the work are so many that it may seem ungrateful to record the opinion that it suffers rather seriously from an ill-advised plan of organization. However mutually exclusive the titles of the five sections may appear to be, there has resulted a considerable amount of overlapping and repetition. Despite the obvious attempt to develop the theme symphonically, what emerges is a theme with variations. To have read almost any one of the sections is to have garnered the essence of the entire book. The book would probably have been about half as long, and twice as usable, had the editor or any one of the fully competent authors undertaken the entire study on his own.

In short, as far as organization of the material is concerned, this study exhibits the familiar and probably inevitable failings of co-operative works of its sort. It remains, nevertheless, a valuable and stimulating study which should do much to promote further interest in one of the most significant of the scholarly movements of our time—the development of the union catalogue idea.

W. B. McDANIEL, 2D

ULRICH, CAROLYN F. *Ulrich's Periodicals Directory. A Classified Guide to a Selected List of Current Periodicals. Directorio de Publicaciones Periódicas Ulrich. Guía clasificada y seleccionada de publicaciones de la actualidad. Inter-American Edition . . . Edited by Carolyn F. Ulrich . . .* New York, R. R. Bowker Company, 1943. xvi, [2], 314 pp. 10 x 6¾ inches. \$10.00.

The first edition of Miss Ulrich's *Periodicals Directory* was published in 1932. It quickly demonstrated its value as a reliable and convenient guide to current periodicals and was followed by a second edition in 1935 and a third edition, revised and enlarged, in 1938. The directory entered above is not another revision of Miss Ulrich's general listing of current periodicals but a special "Inter-American" edition. It is limited to periodicals published in the United States, Canada, Mexico, Central and South America, the West Indies, and the Hawaiian Islands. The 1938 directory lists 10,200 titles selected as representative of the periodicals published in the

United States and foreign countries, especially in England, France and Germany. This special edition lists 6,000 titles.

The arrangement is similar to that of its predecessors. The periodicals are grouped according to broad classifications which are listed alphabetically. Each entry gives full information about the periodical listed, including the price in the currency of the country of publication; indexing and abstracting services, if any, which include the periodical; and, frequently but not always, an "analyzation" or brief description of the general field covered. At the end of each classification appears a bibliography containing references to other publications listing periodicals in the particular field.

From title-page to index the Inter-American edition is bilingual. The preface appears in both English and Spanish as do the table of contents, the subject headings and "analyzations." The forty-five-page index which, in addition to titles, includes subjects, bibliographies, and cross references in both Spanish and English, is all in one alphabet—a remarkable achievement which is fully justified by the unexpected ease with which it can be used. In the preface the compiler expresses regret that subject headings and "analyzations" could not also be given in Portuguese.

The list is not exhaustive, nor is there any need that it should be. The new edition of the *Union List of Serials* will soon be available for information concerning specific titles. The bibliographies at the end of each classification in the *Periodicals Directory* point the way to more exhaustive lists of periodicals for those interested in a particular subject. No attempt has been made at evaluation but the compiler reports that each periodical was carefully studied to justify its inclusion.

The total number of Latin American periodicals included is not given. However, the proportion of Latin American titles under each subject could be made the basis for an interesting study of periodical publishing and national trends in the countries to the south of us. Under "Aeronautics," for example, only 14 per cent of the titles listed are published in Mexico or in Central and South American countries; the proportion rises to 25 per cent under the subject "Business, Commerce, and Industry;" to 44 per cent under "General Periodicals," and to 53 per cent under the classification, "Literary Periodicals and Reviews."

In this Inter-American edition there are more "analyzations" of entries than appeared in the general 1938 edition. Nevertheless there are many titles for which this information is not given, and this useful feature may well be expanded in subsequent editions of both the main directory and this special edition.

The compiler found that the compilation of references to indexing and abstracting services proved a very arduous task. As listed in this directory they may also occasionally cause confusion. It is somewhat misleading to say that the *Atlantic Monthly* is indexed in the *Quarterly Cumulative Index Medicus*, or *Advertising and Selling* in the *Bibliographic Index* without the explanatory statement that only material of particular interest to the indexing or abstracting service is indexed. This explanation does appear in the 1938 general edition but is omitted from the Inter-American edition, which is unfortunate as it is possible that many Latin-American librarians who will use this edition are not familiar with the earlier directories. In any event a reference under a general periodical to a highly specialized indexing service which may list only one or two articles a year from that periodical is of doubtful value, particularly when the magazine is completely covered in a general indexing service to which reference is also made.

But these are only minor suggestions. The fact remains that we now have an extremely useful list of North and South American periodicals which can be used with equal facility by either English or Spanish speaking librarians and research workers. Perhaps there are other reference tools which will lend themselves to this bilingual treatment, and thus increase their usefulness and make their contributions to the good neighbor policy.

CHARLES J. SHAW

LORING, ROSAMOND B. *Decorated Book Papers Being an Account of their Design and Fashions* By Rosamond B. Loring. Cambridge, Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Harvard College Library, 1942. ix, [7], 171 pp. Colored partly mounted examples of decorated papers. 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. \$10.00.

The energetic and enterprising Department of Printing and Graphic Arts at Harvard University has graciously opened the door to a subject not too often, and never yet comprehensively, treated in print.

Decorated End Papers is the title of Mrs. Rosamund B. Loring's book which has been handsomely printed by the Harvard University Press, and lavishly illustrated with examples of the art, both actual specimens and reproductions. As a newcomer to the ever growing field of reference tools for the harassed bibliographer, the book is not only a pioneer but also a contribution. Readers will recollect Mrs. Loring's first book, privately printed for the Club of Odd Volumes, in 1933, entitled *Marbled Papers*,

in which she allowed us to peek into her workshop, revealing the making of marbled papers, and in which she persuaded us to further enthusiasm. Now the author, and be it known collector of decorated end papers, has gone a considerable step further, both in study and in practical work.

The bibliographer, trying to identify a certain kind of decorated end paper in or on one of his favorite books, will delight in Mrs. Loring's concise historical account of the various decorated papers employed in Western Europe ever since the middle of the seventeenth century. Whether it be Persians or Germans, Dutch or Italians, who made and first employed these papers, no matter. Function was soon supplanted by desire for decoration. Protective cover paper soon turned into a thing of beauty. Rarely does man's mind dwell on the functional thing too long. Once it is adopted and proven satisfactory, he will set himself about adding aesthetically pleasing designs.

Thus unrolls before our eyes a documented story of early end papers; of early marbling; of printed end papers with the famous Ramondini family in the lead; of Dutch gilt or Dutch flowered papers, called "Dutch" because England imported them from their native Nuremberg, Augsburg and Fürth via the Netherlands; of paste papers, a later invention and now much practised by Mrs. Loring herself as well as by two of her most promising pupils, Miss Dorothy B. Moulton and Miss Veronica Ruzicka; of decorated nineteenth-century end papers; of modern publishers' end papers carrying either device, colophon or trade mark of a certain house, or, more recently, additional illustrative material pertaining to the contents of the book such as maps, charts or an artistically conceived *mise-en-scène*.

Mrs. Loring does not fail to mention side issues and "errors" in judgment or good taste: the small mirrors used as "end papers" in the almanacs of the early nineteenth century, the doublures of watered silk in the French eighteenth-century books, and the heavily tooled leather doublures of the Parisian binders at the turn of the last century. Her book becomes a source of untold suggestions and untold inspiration for further and perhaps more special studies which, eventually, will all combine to the fuller understanding of binding and decorative papers.

Special and most emphatic mention must be made of the author's two appendices which, had they been more fully worked out or perhaps accompanied by illustrative and diagrammatic drawings of the various stages of the process, tools and manipulations, would have made a book or two in themselves, though the Department of Printing and Graphic Arts did

not intend such a textbook here. Both "The Art of Marbling" and "The Preparation of Paste Papers" are intensely interesting and will, we hope, be worked into a student's "How To Do It." Mrs. Loring's attached list of early makers of decorated papers not only reveals her as a serious and untiring student but as a connoisseur of available source material. Considering the dearth of writing on the subject, we are grateful to find some references in the book. Here, too, a more detailed bibliography or "guide for further study" is hoped for.

Mrs. Loring has led us through a gaily garlanded gateway to a new interpretation of a little known subject. But she has convinced us that her subject is far from little in importance. May she herself, or others, soon be in a position to let us share her subject further.

— KARL KÜP